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THIS VOLUME contains the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (the First International) from the time of the First Congress of the International in September 1866 to September 1868, together with Documents issued by the General Council in the same period.

The first volume contains the Council's Minutes and other Documents from the foundation of the International in 1864 up to August 1866.

This entire collection of Documents of the First International has been prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to mark the Centenary of the foundation of the International.

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THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

1866 * 1868

VOLUME II

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

FOR THE CENTENARY
OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S
ASSOCIATION
1864-1964

INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM OF THE C.C., C.P.S.U.

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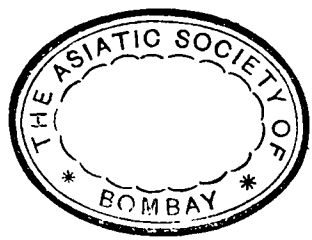

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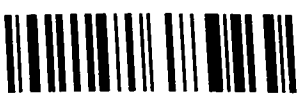
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INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM OF THE C.C., C.P.S.U.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1866-1868

MINUTES

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS · MOSCOW

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PREFACE

This volume presents, for the first time in the language of the original, the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association—the First International—for the period between September 18, 1866 and September 1, 1868. These continue the Minutes for the period between October 5, 1864 and August 21, 1866, published in the book *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference, 1865. Minutes*, Foreign Languages Publishing House (now Progress Publishers), Moscow.

The first general Congress of the International, held in Geneva between September 3 and 8, 1866, consummated the formative period of the International as a mass international organisation of the proletariat. It approved the activities of the Council as a provisional guiding body, re-elected it for another term in its previous composition, and approved the first programme documents: the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association. In these two documents, which were drawn up by Marx in October 1864, the aims and paths of the proletariat's struggle for liberation were formulated in the most general terms acceptable to representatives of the various trends then predominating in the working class. In drawing up these documents, Marx proceeded from the assumption that the community of action established by the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas which was facilitated by the

press of the different national sections, and the discussions at general congresses should gradually lead to the creation of a common theoretical programme, based on the principles of scientific socialism.

In guiding the activities of the General Council and drawing up its documents and the congress resolutions, Marx strove first and foremost to link up the workers' separate demands, and the various forms of their struggle, with the chief aim of the proletarian movement—the overthrow of the capitalist system and the construction of a new, communist society. It was in this spirit that, in the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (1866), Marx formulated the drafts of the basic resolutions, adopted by the Geneva Congress, on the cooperative movement and the trade unions.

However, neither the first programme documents nor the resolutions of the Geneva Congress dealt with the cardinal problem of the socialist reconstruction of society, namely, the problem of property relations. It was only the Brussels Congress (September 6-13, 1868), which passed a resolution on the economic necessity of converting the land, mines, railways, etc., into collective property, that openly proclaimed socialist principles in the International. However, before that could become possible, Marx, Engels, and their comrades had to work very hard to rally all socialistically minded elements in the International. Of particular importance for the success of this work was the further consolidation of the proletarian-revolutionary nucleus that already held the views of scientific socialism and, with the publication of Vol. I of *Capital* in the autumn of 1867, received a powerful theoretical weapon for the struggle against reformism and bourgeois ideology. The propaganda of the economic doctrine of Marxism in the working-class press, and in the first place Engels's popular writings on *Capital*, played a decisive part in this progress. This is testified to by the mention of *Capital* in the

Minutes of the General Council and in other documents of the International for those years.

The documents, published in this volume in the language of the original, are a valuable source for the study of this period in the history of the international working-class movement. They throw light on the efforts made by the founders of Marxism to evolve a socialist programme for the proletariat's first mass organisation; they show how great programmatic principles took shape in the course of struggle, principles which have been preserved and are being enriched by the new historical experience of the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

During this period, the General Council carried on its activities in conditions of a further upsurge of the strike movement in connection with the economic crisis that set in in the autumn of 1866, and the general growth of the world working-class movement. The numerical increase of the International and its mounting influence in an ever greater number of countries confronted the General Council—and Marx and Engels as the actual leaders of the International Working Men's Association—with the important task of educating new members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The years 1867 and 1868 were marked by serious economic disputes, lock-outs, and strikes. For the workers, who were taking their first steps along the road of struggle against the capitalist system, their participation in the strike movement, under the guidance of the International, was an excellent school of international solidarity. The General Council's direct help to various detachments of the working class in their day-by-day struggle for better working conditions greatly enhanced the prestige of the International Working Men's Association. The General Council was the headquarters to which workers of different countries were constantly applying for advice and help. Characteristic in this connection was the arrival in Lon-

don of delegates of the Paris and Geneva workers (see pp. 99 and 202 of the present volume) to meet the leaders of the International. The General Council's active and fruitful intervention in the strikes produced panic among the factory owners, who now demanded that their workers should leave the International, and attempted to bring about the banning and disbandment of its organisations.

The Minutes reveal the General Council's highly important role during the Paris bronze-workers' strike in February and March 1867. The General Council published an appeal to British working men for material aid to the strikers. Thanks to help from the General Council the Paris workers received considerable monetary aid from the British trade unions, this determining the successful outcome of the strike.

In connection with the shooting down of Belgian miners and iron-workers at Marchienne (see the Minutes of the Council meeting of February 26, 1867), the General Council published an appeal to the miners and iron-workers of Great Britain (pp. 280-82), urging them to give every support to the victims, whose families received aid in money.

In the spring of 1868, the General Council again gave firm support to the struggle of the workers of the Charleroi coalfield in Belgium. Besides moral support, the General Council also organised material aid for the striking miners. Similar aid was given to the building workers of Geneva in March-April 1868. The General Council urged all workers to help the Geneva builders and, thanks to support from the proletariat of Britain, Switzerland, France, and Germany, the building workers of Geneva won their strike.

The resolution on the economic struggle, as passed by the Geneva Congress, was the basis of the General Council's guidance of this aspect of the International's activities. As Lenin wrote: "The resolution adopted at that Congress

spoke explicitly of the importance of the economic struggle and warned the socialists and the workers, on the one hand, against exaggerating its importance (which the British workers were inclined to do at that time) and, on the other, against underestimating its importance (which the French and the Germans, particularly the Lassalleans, were inclined to do)" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1960, p. 176).

The International's rapid growth and the formation of sections, which drew into their ranks ever new numbers of the working class, greatly increased the responsibilities of the General Council, and called for constant activity on its part. The duties of the corresponding secretaries for the different countries included perusal of the workers' newspapers published in the respective countries. These secretaries kept the newspapers informed of the Council's activities and the movement in other countries, and systematically reported to the Council on their contents. Thus, all newspapers and journals that dealt with the International's activities were always within the purview of the General Council, at whose meetings members informed their colleagues of the new working-class newspapers that had come into existence in the various countries.

This information, like the numerous letters and reports from local sections, dealt with at the Council's weekly meetings, testified, on the one hand, to the growth of class consciousness in newly recruited working men, but, on the other hand, sometimes also indicated the immaturity and utopian nature of their views. Against that background, the great significance stands out of the guidance provided by Marx and Engels as leaders of the first mass organisation of the international proletariat. The Minutes reveal Marx's unflagging and patient day-by-day struggle against sectarianism in all its varieties, and his efforts to rally all detachments of the international proletariat around common demands reflecting the basic interests of

the working class and ensuring the conditions for its complete emancipation from wage slavery.

In the General Council, Dupont, Lafargue, and Jung—Marx and Engels's disciples and followers—waged a stubborn and systematic struggle against the influence of the petty-bourgeois ideology of Proudhonism on members of the International in France, Belgium, and Romance part of Switzerland. An important part in this struggle was played by the publication of the official report of the Geneva Congress, whose work was being distorted by the Proudhonist and bourgeois press. The Minutes of the General Council meetings in the final months of 1866 reveal the efforts made by Council members to get published the documents of the Geneva Congress, which were of tremendous importance for the propaganda of the ideas of the International. With the direct participation of Marx, the General Council was able to publish the official report in English and French.

The prosecution of the International's Paris section by the government of Napoleon III was important in helping the French workers outgrow the Proudhonist practice of standing aside in the political struggle. The sentence passed on the members of the Paris section was an excellent refutation of the slanderous accusation, levelled by the bourgeois republicans against the International in France, alleging that they were aiding and abetting Bonapartism. The materials of the trial, which were extensively dealt with in the press and then brought out by the section as a booklet, were a source of propaganda of the International's ideas in France, and helped give shape to the Left Proudhonist trend, whose representatives, Varlin and others, gradually adopted a stand close to scientific socialism.

Despite the excellent traditions of proletarian internationalism established by the activities of Marx and Engels as leaders of the Communist League, and in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49, the spread of the ideas of

the International in Germany was hampered by the sectarian character of the Lassallean General Union of German Workers. A constant struggle against Lassalleanist influence on the German proletariat was waged by Marx and Engels and by their disciples and followers Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, who headed the movement for the unification of the German workers' societies. As Corresponding Secretary for Germany, Marx used all his influence to spread the ideas of the International in Germany, kept the General Council systematically informed of the successes scored by the movement, and was able to get a representative of the General Council sent to the Nuremberg Congress of the League of German Workers' Unions in September 1868. The Congress came out in favour of joining the International and played an important part in the formation of a revolutionary proletarian party in Germany.

A significant contribution to propagation of the International's ideas in Germany was made by Johann Philipp Becker and the Central Committee of the German-speaking Geneva sections. This Committee was, until 1869, the actual organising centre of the sections that existed illegally in Germany. Besides, the growth of the International in Germany was the result of an influx of new individual members.

The activities of Becker, who constantly corresponded with Marx and other Council members, were also of tremendous importance in spreading the International's ideas in Switzerland. Becker, who held a proletarian-revolutionary stand, waged a ceaseless struggle against Proudhonist ideas, which were exerting a considerable influence on International members in Romance part of Switzerland. He was active in the co-operative movement which became widespread in the late sixties, and worked hard to implement the principles of workers' co-operatives as set forth in Marx's "Instructions" to the Geneva

Congress. The rules for workers' production co-operatives, which Becker published, were widespread among Swiss and German workers, and were used by many sections of the International in Switzerland.

The middle of 1867 saw systematic links established between the General Council and the U.S.A., through William Sylvis and the National Labour Union, as well as through Friedrich Adolf Sorge, the German Communist, who represented the proletarian elements among German political emigrants in the U.S.A. Marx corresponded with Sorge paying a good deal of attention to his activities that helped the ideas of scientific communism penetrate into the American working class.

While continuing to perform for Britain the functions of a Federal Council, the General Council directed its efforts towards drawing the masses of British workers into the International. It strove to get into the International, not only numerous local trade unions, but also the London Trades Council itself, as a British section. The question of the London Trades Council's adherence to the International was discussed for several months, and the General Council Minutes show convincingly that, against the will of the working masses, the trade-union leaders did everything possible to protract consideration of this question, and finally achieved its solution in a negative sense (pp. 48, 90-91 and elsewhere). Adopted under the influence of the reformist leaders, this decision testified to the growth of the liberal-bourgeois trend in the British trade-union leadership. Nevertheless, Marx continued to do his utmost to get individual trade unions to join the International, since he considered that this form of organisation would give the International a broad basis in the British working class. That was why John Hales's motion that the structure of the International in England should follow the territorial principle (pp. 61 and 65) was rejected. At the same time, Marx welcomed the affiliation to the Inter-

national of the National Reform League founded in 1849 by the Chartist O'Brien. This organisation, which included many former Chartists, brought into the General Council a number of British working-class leaders, who, unlike the majority of trade unionists, were convinced socialists.

With the aim of gradually isolating the opportunist trade-union leaders, Marx secured the adoption of a decision to abolish the post of President of the General Council, which had been continuously held from 1864 onwards by Odger, one of the leaders of the London Trades Council. Marx demanded a resolution of censure on Odger who, at a Reform League meeting, had praised Bismarck's domestic policies (p. 111).

Marx's struggle against the reformism of the trade-union leaders and their bourgeois-liberal ideology found special expression during the discussion on the Irish question. Marx pressed for the British workers' effective support of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed Irish. In this, Marx had to overcome the inertness of the British members of the General Council and to expose the opportunist stand taken by the trade-union leaders, with their bourgeois jingoism. Marx was the principal organiser of the General Council's discussion on the Irish question (see the meetings of November 19, 20, and 26, 1867). He came out energetically in defence of the Irish Fenians, who were being persecuted by the British Government. The General Council commissioned him to draw up, on behalf of the International, an appeal which was presented to the Home Secretary and which called the death sentence passed on four Fenians imprisoned in Manchester an act of "political revenge" on the part of the British Government (pp. 312-13). This document exposed the trumped-up charges which had served as the grounds for the death sentence.

The Minutes published herein show the practical steps taken by the General Council in support of the national-

liberation movement of the Polish people. Marx inculcated in members of the General Council an irreconcilable stand towards the policy of national oppression, and made use of all opportunities to illustrate the position of consistent proletarian internationalism. He took part in a meeting held in London on January 22, 1867 to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64. At this meeting Marx spoke in support of the resolution, which stated: "That liberty cannot be established in Europe without the independence of Poland" (see p. 278 of the present volume). Marx's role in organising this meeting and his address there were mentioned with gratitude by the Polish revolutionary emigrants in a special resolution (p. 103). When the tsar's Paris visit evoked mass demonstrations in the French capital, in sympathy with the Polish national-liberation movement, the General Council publicly confirmed its stand on the Polish question by expressing, in the newspapers, approval of the Paris demonstrations (pp. 129-30). On July 14, 1868, the General Council came out with a declaration, on a motion by Marx, branding the British Government's policy of subserviency to tsarism (p. 226).

The enhanced prestige of the International Working Men's Association, a fact recognised even in the bourgeois press, led bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders to heighten their efforts to subject the working-class movement in their personal or class interests. The Minutes of the General Council reflect the unyielding struggle waged by Marx and his followers Dupont and Jung against provocative acts by Félix Pyat's *entourage* who represented the French petty-bourgeois emigrants and systematically slandered the General Council and the Paris members of the International. As proposed by Marx, the General Council meeting of July 7, 1868 dissociated the Council from the provocative and adventurist behaviour of Pyat, who was acting on behalf of the French branch in London (p. 224).

The Minutes published in this volume contain, besides frequent mention of Marx's statements on various occasions, detailed records of four of his important speeches. The speech Marx made on August 13, 1867 on the International Association's attitude towards the bourgeois-democratic League of Peace and Freedom—this while the Lausanne Congress of the International was in preparation —was partly published in the press, and, as Marx wrote to Engels on September 4, 1867, produced quite a sensation. Alarmed by Marx's speeches, the League's organisers made certain amendments in their original programme, though these were merely declarations on democracy and "the harmonising of economic interests with liberty".

Of particular interest are the records of two speeches Marx made in the discussion on the agenda of the Brussels Congress. One of them dealt with "the influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists" (pp. 231-33), and the other, with the reduction of the hours of labour (pp. 243-44). The entries made by Eccarius show that Marx linked these two questions with that of the socialist reconstruction of society, pointing out that "the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages-system by a truly social system of production" (p. 240). In defending the demand for an eight-hour day, Marx emphasised that this was "the first step towards the mental and physical elevation and the ultimate emancipation of the working classes" (p. 244). These two speeches, like the Minutes of the corresponding meetings of the General Council, reflect the thorough preparatory work Marx and his comrades carried out for the Brussels Congress, which played such an important part in establishing socialist principles in the world working-class movement.

The Section "From the Manuscripts of Karl Marx" contains "Notes for an Undelivered Speech on Ireland". Marx prepared this speech for the General Council meeting of

November 26, 1867. At the meeting, however, Marx decided not to speak, considering that it was politically more advisable, after the execution of the Fenians, that the protest against the British Government's policies should come from the Englishman Fox (see Marx's letter to Engels of November 30, 1867). The nature of the manuscript, its wealth of factual material, and its sweeping theoretical generalisations show how seriously Marx prepared for any speech he made to workers, members of the General Council.

The Section "Documents of the General Council" contains the most important documents issued by the Council between September 18, 1866 and September 1, 1868. Of these, two were written by Marx himself, namely, "The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men's Association", and "The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" as presented to the Brussels Congress of 1868. The General Council's address regarding the Lausanne Congress, "To Members and Affiliated Societies and to All Working Men" (the French version was drawn up by Lafargue), was edited by Marx; the French version of the "Third Annual Report of the International Working Men's Association" sent to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 was signed by Marx among other members of the Council. This section also contains the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association, which were approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866. These Rules were based on the text of the Provisional Rules, which Marx drew up in October 1864. As for the Administrative Regulations, these were drawn up during the Geneva Congress by a committee which included, besides other Congress delegates, Eccarius, a member of the General Council. In the present volume, the Rules and Administrative Regulations are in accordance with the text of the English edition of 1867, with

whose publication Marx was directly concerned (p. 182).

This section also includes three balance-sheets of the General Council, as well as several other documents written by Fox, Eccarius, Lafargue, Shaw, and other members of the General Council.

Other General Council documents of less importance in content and volume and referring to the same period have been made use of in the editorial notes.

* * *

The complete text of the General Council Minutes for the period between September 18, 1866 and September 1, 1868 is published herein for the first time in the original, in accordance with photo-copies in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U. in Moscow; the photo-copies have been made from the original Minute Book which is at the London Bishopsgate Institute. The Minutes were first published in Russian by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in a book entitled *The General Council of the First International, 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, 1963.

The Minutes of General Council meetings between September 18, 1866 and August 29, 1867, 48 in number, are on 108 foolscap pages. In the original Minute Book these are followed by the English text of the annual report made by Fox, Corresponding Secretary for America. In this volume Fox's report has been included in the Section "Documents of the General Council". The report is on 13 pages, followed by two pages with a later entry containing an unfinished letter, dated July 13, 1868, by an unknown writer on the eight-hour working day and addressed to the newspaper *Standard*. Then come the Minutes of General Council meetings held between September 17, 1867 and September 1, 1868, these on 63 pages and totalling 46 in number.

Between September 25 and December 11, 1866, Peter Fox was the Council's General Secretary. He was succeeded by Robert Shaw, who held the post until July 9, 1867. Up to the summer of 1867, most of the Minutes are in the handwriting of Shaw or Eccarius. As from June 9, 1867 Eccarius was elected General Secretary, and most of the Minutes until September 1, 1868 are in his hand. Quite frequently the Minute Book contains, instead of a written entry, a newspaper clipping with the printed text of the Minutes. Sometimes part of the Minutes are also entered in handwriting, as a result of which one and the same fact is mentioned twice, once in print and again in handwriting. Prior to October 1867, the Minutes are usually unsigned, many of them having no titles, or with incomplete titles. In several cases the date given in the heading does not fall on a Tuesday, though Council meetings are known to have been held regularly on Tuesdays. Whenever confirmation is provided by other sources, the date has been corrected, this being mentioned in the footnotes.

The footnotes also show the condition of the manuscript, its specific features and other textological remarks; these footnotes also give the names of persons not mentioned in the text itself, references to other pages in the text, etc.

The notes at the end of the volume contain more extensive explanations, which reveal in greater detail the facts mentioned in the manuscript published. In the compilation of the notes, use has first and foremost been made of the Marx-Engels correspondence, their letters to third persons, and the correspondence between other members of the General Council and leaders of the International, all this material being kept at the Central Party Archives and the Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Wide use has been made of matter from the First International press, particularly newspaper reports of General Council meetings as published at the time in the Council's London press organs—*The Commonwealth, The Bee-Hive, The Interna-*

tional Courier, and others. Excerpts from these reports are given whenever the facts they contain supplement the contents of the Minutes manuscripts.

This volume contains a name index, an index of periodicals, and an index of addresses and geographical names.

The contents and arrangement of the present volume correspond to those of the above-mentioned Russian edition of 1963 prepared for publication by Irene Bach, Maria Marinicheva, and Nadezhda Meshcheryakova, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U., under the general editorship of Irene Bach.

The originals for the English edition have been deciphered by Nina Nepomnyashchaya, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the volume has been prepared for publication by our editor, Lydia Belyakova.

No alterations have been made in the text, apart from corrections of obvious slips of the pen, misspelt words, and biographical and geographical names. Almost all abbreviations have been written out, and in some places supplementary words in square brackets have been inserted to render the text clearer to the reader.

THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

(September 18, 1866-September 1, 1868)

Central Council Meeting Sept 18th

Citizen Odger in the Chair

Citizen Whitehead was elected as the Delegate from the French Political Society, which meets at the Black Horse in Rathbone Place. Oxford Street, W.

Citizen Fox read a letter from Mr Lee the Secretary of the Excavators Society and in Consequence of its contents, Citizens Whitehead Lafargue and Dutton were appointed to form a deputation to wait upon the Excavators Society on the following Friday

Citizen Marx stated that the Notice of the Manchester Sailors Strike had been inserted in the Democratic Journals in the North, South and Centre of Germany, he gave a list of these Journals. Citizen Lawrence stated that the Struggle had closed in Manchester, that in fact the London Committee had decided that the Manchester men were in the wrong — they had been too exacting

Citizen Hrabje, who is about to leave London for Hungary was authorized to act on behalf of the Association in that Country. Citizen Hewson gave an account of what he had been able to do for the Association during his recent visit to Copenhagen. He stated that he had found there a trustworthy agent for the Association

A Letter from Mr Miall the Landlord was then read demanding that the Central Council should become his immediate tenant for the room in 18 Bouverie Street, and pay him directly the — Quarters rent which was due last Midsummer

The Consideration of the Question adjourned

First page of the Minute Book for 1866-68 (General Council meeting of September 18, 1866) containing Marx's remarks on the reaction in the German papers to the English tailors' strike

[1866]

CENTRAL COUNCIL[1] *MEETING**

September 18th

Citizen *Odger* in the chair.

Citizen Whitehead was elected as the delegate from the French Polishers' Society, which meets at the Black Horse in Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Mr. Lee, the Secretary of the Excavators' Society, and in consequence of its contents, Citizens Whitehead, Lafargue, and Dutton were appointed to form a deputation to wait upon the Excavators' Society on the following Friday.[2]

Citizen *Marx* stated that the notice of the Manchester tailors' strike had been inserted in the democratic journals in the North, South, and Centre of Germany; he gave a list of those journals.

Citizen *Lawrence* stated that the struggle had closed in Manchester, that, in fact, the London Committee had decided that the Manchester men were in the wrong—they had been too exacting.[3]

Citizen Hraybe, who is about to leave London for Hungary, was authorised to act on behalf of the Association in that country.

Citizen *Hansen* gave an account of what he had been able to do for the Association during his recent visit to

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* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 1-5 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Copenhagen. He stated that he had found there a trustworthy agent for the Association.

A letter from Mr. Miall, the landlord, was then read, demanding that the Central Council should become his immediate tenant for the room in 18, Bouverie Street, and pay him directly the quarter's rent which was due last midsummer.[4]

The consideration of the question adjourned.

THE DELEGATES' REPORT[5]

As it appeared that only Citizens Odger, Lawrence, Eccarius, and Carter had returned, it was thought best to defer the reception of the official report until after the return [of] Citizens Cremer, Jung, and Dupont; but the delegates were invited to give an unofficial extempore narrative of what took place.

Citizen *Odger* gave a glowing account of the welcome given by the Genevese to the delegates, and declared that the general results of the Congress had far exceeded his anticipations. He declared that Citizen Jung's conduct as president had given general satisfaction.

After the British delegates had left Geneva they repaired to Berne to have an interview with the Federal Government of Switzerland on the subject of cheap international postage.[6] The delegates saw the Foreign Secretary and the Postmaster-General. They were first of all very courteously shown over the Federal Palace and the Picture Gallery, and Museum. Their interview with the Postmaster-General of the Helvetic Confederation lasted about half-an-hour. He entirely coincided with the views of the delegates on this subject, and said that the Swiss Government was of the same opinion as the International Working Men's Association.

Citizens Cremer and Jung remained behind at Neuchâtel

to help Dr. Coullery in propagandist work on behalf of the Association. It had been the intention of the delegates to have stayed for a time in Paris to observe the progress of the co-operative companies of production there, and Citizen Lawrence had desired to see some of his trade (the tailors) there, but the arrest on the frontier of a Parisian delegate returning from the Congress for having in his possession a "seditious" anti-Napoleonic pamphlet persuaded the British delegates [to abandon] this portion of their plan. He [Odger] further stated that although the Parisian delegates had at first been disposed to offer a factious opposition yet towards the end they had acted in a most satisfactory manner towards the British delegates and had asked their opinions on several of the questions involved.

Citizen *Carter* then made his statement. He said that the Genevese tailors had been addressed by Citizen Lawrence, he, Carter, interpreting; the carpenters by Cremer, Carter interpreting; and the shoemakers by Odger, Eccarius interpreting. The two former meetings had been most enthusiastic and crowded.

Citizen *Eccarius* gave a more detailed account of their interview with the Postmaster-General at Berne. The Swiss Government was ready to enter into an agreement with any government [provided] that each country should retain its own general postage rate and that the intermediate transit should be charged at half baggage rates. The French Government was the great obstacle to all postal reform. They would not allow letters to be charged for in bulk but insisted upon charging and inspecting the address on every letter. The Postmaster-General was of opinion that the letter rate between Great Britain and Switzerland might advantageously be reduced from 6d. to $2^1/_2$d. per letter. He had been lately trying to get the ordinary French letter rate raised from $^1/_4$oz to $^1/_2$oz but without avail. He was also in favour of a reform of the

regulations governing book and pattern posts. Eccarius had in his valise copies of the "seditious" pamphlet for the possession of which the Parisian delegate had been arrested, but the French authorities took no notice of him, presumably he was looked upon as a Briton. He added that eight working men had appeared (from Paris) at the Congress as opponents of the administrative party.* The Congress had refused to hear them as they were not accredited by any organised body recognised by the Association.[7] It would be a suggestion for the Central Council to consider whether, considering the non-existence of the right of meeting in France, this Council might not be able to do for these desiderants what they could not do for themselves.

Citizen *Carter* added that the number of essays on the several questions in the programme contributed by members of the Association was very large and came from all parts of Europe. The Congress had resolved that every individual member should pay 3d. per head this year towards the expenses of the Central Council.

Citizen *Lawrence* stated some incidents of recent struggles at Lausanne between the employers and the employed in the shoemaking trade, and how the International Association had played a leading part therein. He also spoke of their progress in the career of co-operative production. He noted generally that on the Continent the working classes were in advance of the British in this respect. In Paris there were 54 co-operative manufacturing associations, and 200 credit societies. In the business of co-operative banking the Continentals were also ahead of us. It had been the intention of the Parisian members of the International Working Men's Association to have given a dinner to the returning British delegates, but the aforesaid arrest threw a damper over this project. He confirmed what the other delegates had already stated con-

* Reference is to the Paris Committee.—*Ed.*

cerning the reign of terror and suspicion now prevalent in the French capital.

Citizen *Fox* complained that the British delegates had not sent from Geneva to the Acting Secretary any information concerning the Congress or the visit to Berne; and the consequence was that he had not been able to advertise its transactions in the London press as he otherwise could have done; also, that several of the weeklies had copied reports from the French press so that in some respects they were better informed than the *Commonwealth*[8] of the preceding week.

Citizen *Eccarius* explained that he had sent an account of the visit to Berne to the *Times*, but that paper had refused to insert it.

Odger and *Carter* explained that they had not received the journals sent from London in time to inform them of the publicity given to the transactions of the Congress in the London press.

Citizen *Marx* moved, and *Dell* seconded, a vote of thanks to the delegates for the able manner in which they had represented the Central Council at Geneva. Carried amid applause.

The Council then adjourned until next Tuesday.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

September 25th

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

The *Secretary**** read the Minutes of the previous meeting which were confirmed with the alteration suggested by Lawrence.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 5-9 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Cremer.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* said he had received £5, the annual contribution, from Mr. Samuel Moore, a manufacturer of Manchester.

Cremer stated that the model pattern makers, who meet at 119, Fenchurch Street, had asked for a deputation from the Council to wait upon them on Saturday night.

Weston, Lessner, and Whitehead were appointed to respond to this appeal.[9]

Whitehead gave an account of the visit of the deputation (of which he formed a part) to the excavators, who meet in Bermondsey. He had sold several copies of the Rules. The delegates assembled were so satisfied that they undertook to report on the subject to the different lodges and they had little doubt that those lodges would join the ranks of our associated bodies.

Jung laid on the table a copy of the *Voix de l'Avenir*, the organ of the Association in Chaux-de-Fonds, and stated that the editor desired an authorisation from the Central Council before affixing the words "Organ of the International Association" on the title.[10] He also laid on the table a copy of *L'Ouvrier* of Lausanne.

Cremer proposed that the authorisation be given, and spoke enthusiastically of Dr. Coullery, the editor.

Carter seconded the proposition: Coullery had been the ruling spirit of the Congress.

The *Chairman* endorsed what the two previous speakers had said. Without Coullery's aid the London programme[11] could not have been carried.

The motion to grant the authorisation was carried unanimously.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

As the delegates from London to the Geneva Congress had [not] yet prepared their report, *Lawrence* moved and *Fox* seconded:

That after hearing a *vivâ voce* account from Jung and Cremer of the result of their tour after they had separated from the other delegates, the Council should proceed to the election of office-holders.

Jung then made his report. On Monday, September 10th, he went with Lawrence to Lausanne and attended a meeting. On Tuesday he went to Berne with the other delegates. Afterwards he went to Neuchâtel, thence with Cremer to Chaux-de-Fonds and St. Imier; addressed a meeting at the latter place, went back again to Neuchâtel, and had a meeting there. Cremer spoke at these meetings (Jung interpreting). He had also spoken to a leading member of the Grütli-Verein[12] in reference to joining the Association.

Cremer then stated what the Congress had [done] with reference to the Central Council. [The] Congress had renewed the appointment of every actual member of the Council with the exception of Le Lubez who was excluded on the motion [of] Citizens Fribourg and Tolain because he had continued to stigmatise them as intriguers and Bonapartists.

Le Lubez denied having called them Bonapartists.

Carter stated that the delegates from London did their very best to retain Le Lubez, and that in consequence of their opposition to the Tolain and Fribourg demand those two citizens left the hall, Fribourg in a theatrical manner. The event was decided by a delegate from Lyons who stated that he had received a letter from Le Lubez in which Fribourg and Tolain were *abimé*. The Lyonnese stated that Le Lubez's representation had done much harm to the progress of the Association in Lyons and that it

had only lately recovered from the ill-effects of the same. The whole meeting voted with the Parisian party except the London delegation. Only then did Tolain and Fribourg return to the hall.

After a short discussion *Le Lubez* rose and observed that there were two nationalities absent from the Congress whose representatives would have sided with him, namely, Italy and Belgium; Fribourg and Tolain did not venture to attack him in London [in] the epoch of the Conference. He advised the Central Council to obey the vote of the Congress. He should not ask for readmission to the Central Council until the vote of another congress had reversed the verdict of that at Geneva. He thought the Council ought to pass a vote of confidence in him. Had the Parisians paid to the Council the debt they owed, or any portion of the £40 promised at the London Conference[13][?] He understood they had not. Le Lubez then left the room.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President

Lawrence moved that Marx be President for the ensuing twelve months; *Carter* seconded that nomination.[14] *Marx* proposed Odger: he, Marx, thought himself incapacitated because he was a head worker and not a hand worker. *Weston* seconded Odger. A ballot was taken and Odger was carried by 15 v. 3.

Vice-President

Eccarius was alone nominated and carried *nem. con.*

General Secretary

Fox and Cremer proposed; ballot taken. Fox elected by 13 to 4.[15]

Treasurer

Dell alone nominated and carried *nem. con.*

The Secretaries for France,* Germany,** Switzerland,*** America,**** and Spain***** were reappointed. Hansen was appointed Secretary for Denmark.

Lawrence moved that the appointment of the other secretaries be adjourned until next week. Carried by common consent.

Marx moved that a testimonial be presented to Cremer for his almost entirely gratuitous services as secretary for nearly two years.

Seconded by *Carter* and by several members and carried unanimously.

STANDING COMMITTEE[16]

Marx proposed to constitute this Committee provisionally only, for the present. The Committee to consist of the office-holders and secretaries already appointed. Agreed to by common consent.

Citizen *Mollard* of Barcelona made a statement of what he hoped to be able to do for the Association in Catalonia and in the United States whither he proposed to proceed. He gave an account of his movements for the past twelve months.

The Council then adjourned.******

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* Dupont.—*Ed.*
** Marx.—*Ed.*
*** Jung.—*Ed.*
**** Fox.—*Ed.*
***** Breitschwert.—*Ed.*
****** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 2nd

Lessner in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed with the alteration suggested by Citizen *Carter*.

The *Secretary*** asked for and obtained the permission of the Council to insert in the Minutes of September 18th a portion of the statement made by Eccarius which [he] had omitted, but which on reflection he thought was important.

Fox brought forward the claim of Mr. Miall on the Council for rent due and that we should henceforth stand to him in place of the Industrial Newspaper Company.[17]

It was decided to pay the quarter's rent due last midsummer.

There being nothing in the Treasury the *Treasurer**** advanced the quarter's rent by way of a loan.

Fox having asked the Treasurer what had become of the £5 received last week through the hands of Marx, the *Treasurer* replied that £6 had been paid to cover the unpaid expenses of the Geneva delegates.

Carter complained that he had been unfairly treated, the agreement was that all the delegates should share and share alike. Now although the other delegates knew that his expenses had been greater than theirs, owing to his having to travel by mail trains, yet he had only received £8 while the others had received £10.

Jung made an explanation. He animadverted on Cremer's conduct in reference to procuring tickets before starting. He stated that he had advanced Cremer £2 in Geneva and

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* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 9-14 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Fox.—*Ed.*

*** Dell.—*Ed.*

had to borrow £4 from a friend. He offered to refund his own £2 balance.

Carter declined with thanks. He did not desire to make a personal attack, but only to show that an equitable rule had been infringed in reference to him.

Dell observed that Cremer had received £10 12s. 1d. or 12s. 1d. more than any other delegate.

REPORT OF DEPUTATION TO MODEL PATTERN MAKERS

Citizen *Whitehead* said he and Citizen Weston had waited upon the model pattern makers. They were well received, but complained that Mr. Cremer had not notified the advent of the deputation to the society. They wished that copies of [the] Rules be sent to them. They would summon a special meeting to consider the question of joining. Citizen Whitehead added that it was necessary that some definite instructions should be given to delegates with respect to contributions from societies.[18]

AMALGAMATED CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

The *Secretary* said he had received a letter from the secretary from this society announcing their readiness to receive a deputation from our body on Tuesday evening at 8:30.

Jung, Lessner, Lafargue, and Fox were appointed to attend on this society.[19]

The question then arose, what instructions should be given to the deputation in reference to the terms upon which societies should be admitted.

Carter alluded to the Rules adopted by the Geneva Congress, which required 3d. per member for the expenses of

[the] Central Council. Carter contended that affiliation and membership were two different things and that the Congressional Rules applied only to the latter.

Marx, on the authority of the Minutes, contradicted Carter and said that the Congress refused to recognise any affiliation as distinct from membership.

Shaw moved and *Lassassie* seconded:

That the delegates to the carpenters and joiners be instructed to ask for a levy of 3d. per member for the exceptional expenses of 1866 and 1867.

Fox moved an amendment and *Marx* seconded:

That the delegates be instructed to say that they will issue cards of subscription to the said society in the following proportion: one card for every 3d. subscribed.

Jung suggested that a minimum of 1d. per head be asked for.

Carter argued that Lawrence had said that 1d. would be too high. He would prefer ½d. per head.

The amendment of Fox was carried on a division by 8 to 6.

Fox then asked Jung and Carter if they would move their minimum proposition as an amendment to his proposition, if put as a substantial motion, but they declined, and it was agreed that the whole subject must be reargued, that the present decision was only provisional.

BRUSSELS LETTER

Fox read a letter from Vandenhouten, the Secretary of the Brussels section, complaining of the laches of Citizen Longuet, who had never informed the Brussels section that he had been elected Corresponding Secretary, nor had he ever corresponded with them.[20] The Brusselers also complained that they had never been informed of the date of the Congress, consequently they were unable to be

present or to send papers. They knew Lafargue and in consequence were more surprised than they would otherwise have been at his silence.

Marx defended his conduct while secretary and carried the war into the Belgian camp.

Le Lubez spoke in defence and glorification of the Brussels section and contended that they had been shamefully neglected.

Lafargue defended Longuet and himself. The nomination of Longuet was known in Brussels because it had been attacked in the *Espiègle.*[21] Longuet had corresponded by means of announcements in *La Rive Gauche*[22] which was received and read by the Brussels section. The date of the Congress had been given in the address of the Association which had been published in the *Tribune du Peuple.*[23] Longuet did not know the address of the Brussels men.

Carter and *Dupont* both stated that they had heard Fontaine of Brussels say in this room[24] that he was appointed delegate to the Congress at Geneva. He had never professed ignorance of the date.

Le Lubez stated that Longuet knew the address of the *Tribune du Peuple* which was the organ of the Brussels section.

Fox remembered an act of laches on the part of Longuet which had come to his knowledge. The resolution this Council came to in reference to the apology due to the Italian delegates had never been communicated to the *Echo de Verviers,*[25] the consequence was that the Italian delegates had not resumed their seats at our Board.

Jung declared that he had given Longuet the address of the Brussels men, and told him to forward the resolution to the *Echo de Verviers.* He proposed that a letter be written by Lafargue explaining the hitch of the past and promising amendment for the future.

Lassassie seconded the motion.

APPOINTMENT OF CORRESPONDENT

Dupont solicited the appointment of Andrew Marchet as correspondent for Bordeaux and the *Arrondissement* of Lesparre in place of another correspondent who has withdrawn.[26] Appointment made accordingly.

Dupont then stated the result of his visit to Lyons. How the Lyonnese members were divided in two parties, one desiring to make their section chiefly political, the other exclusively social in their tendencies. He also visited Fleurieux-sur-Saône and other places where we had branches; many of the members in these parts were cultivators of the vine, and he was surprised to find the faith reposed in the Association by these men. He also visited Vienne and found a co-operative cloth manufacturing company and flour mill on the cash principle and a co-operative grocery and bakery.

Dupont then read correspondence from Vienne, asking for their *carnets* or titles of membership. He also read a report on the state of industry in that place especially referring to the hard lot of the factory women in that place's branches of industry.[27]

Jung on behalf of Dr. Coullery asked if it would be allowed to form a section exclusively of women.

The unanimous resolution was that it was permissible.

Collet, a member of the Association, said that he was willing to insert reports of our doings in his paper *Courrier International*,[28] reserving to himself the right to comment upon them if he should think proper.

Dupont gave notice of [a] proposition to bring before the Council in favour of organising working men's excursions from Britain to the Paris Exhibition of 1867[29] under the conduct of the International Working Men's Association.

The meeting then adjourned.*

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 9th

The *Vice-President*** in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cremer demanded the right of making a personal explanation in reference to the 12s. 1d. he had received more than the others. He reminded the Council that he and Jung had stayed longer in Switzerland than the others and had had more expenses. The money he had received did not cover his out-of-pocket expenditure. He had not demanded anything for his time.

Carter restated his grievance.

Jung offered to refund one pound to Carter. Suiting the action to the word, [he] took out his porte-monnaie, but what passed subsequently in regard to this escaped the Secretary's notice.

Lafargue stated that he had replied to the Belgian correspondent.

Jung stated that a member of the Association*** coming from Geneva to London who had been entrusted by Citizens Dupleix and Becker with four parcels of documents belonging to the Association had been searched on the French frontier and had the four parcels taken from him.[30] He read a letter from Giuseppe Dassy of Naples stating that he had been appointed a delegate to the Geneva Congress by the Working Men's Association of Cerignola, but that he had received his commission too late to avail [himself] of it; at the conclusion he said that if the Council desired to correspond with General Garibaldi he would

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* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 14-17 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** Gottraux.—*Ed.*

deliver the letter with his own hands and send back the answer.[31]

The *Secretary** read a letter he had from Mr. Applegarth, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters, thanking the Council for the deputation that had been sent to that body, for the agreeable and instructive entertainment they had afforded to their audience. He also read an extract from Becker's opening speech at the Geneva Congress as reported in the *Vorbote* and observed upon its openly atheistical character.[32] He also read from the *Journal de Genève* of September 14th, a conservative middle-class paper, a tribute to the truly cosmopolitan spirit which pervaded the Congress. He also brought before the Council a subscription sheet for the imprisoned Vésinier.[33]

DEPUTATION FROM THE HAIRDRESSERS' EARLY CLOSING ASSOCIATION

32, Glasshouse Street, Regent Street

The deputation stated that their trade was engaged in a struggle for early closing on Saturday afternoons. Several middle-sized employers were bringing over men from Paris to fill the places of those men who had been called out of the recalcitrant shops. The deputation prayed the Council to use its influence at Paris to frustrate the evil designs of these masters.

Carter, *Marx*, and *Lawrence* spoke in response, pleading the Council to use its best efforts in the direction mentioned.[34]

IMPORTATION OF TAILORS

Lawrence stated that an Edinburgh master declared at the late Master Tailors' Congress that £400 had been spent in bringing over tailors from the Continent during this

* Fox.—*Ed.*

summer. Many of the importations still remained behind in the neighbourhood of the Scottish capital affecting the labour market there. Stewart, another master, boasted on the same occasion that he had brought over a live cargo of tailors who had hustled the guts out of the Newcastle strike.[35]

On the motion of *Jung* the General Secretary was ordered to write to Dassy, and to Garibaldi through Dassy.

On the motion of *Marx* the General Secretary was ordered to write to the French *Ministre de l'Intérieur* complaining of the seizure of the Association's papers and requesting that they be restituted.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from Citizen Fribourg of Paris asking for the Minutes of the Congress to enable them to publish a report of the Congress.

Marx protested against the latter step, inasmuch as the duty of publishing an account of the Congress was devolved by that body exclusively on the Central Council. Further, the Parisians had kept their *Mémoire*[36] in violation of the Congressional order, which ordained that this and other documents should be handed over to the Central Council.

The General Secretary was ordered to write to Fribourg in this sense.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

Marx brought up a report from the Standing Committee to the effect that societies be taxed 1d. per head per year.

The *General Secretary* suggested that Jung should now report the conversation which took place on this subject with the Secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters' Society, which was to this effect: viz., that 3d. per head laid down by [the] Congress would cost their society £93 15s.

which they never would pay. The compromise suggested by Fox and adopted by the Council fared no better.*

Cremer stated that when the 3d. proposition was before the Congress, the British voted for it as a means of extracting money from the Continentals; but with a mental reservation taken by the said delegates not to apply it at home to associations.

Lawrence said the scheme of the Standing Committee would drive away societies from the Association. His society even at ½d. rate would have to contribute £14 11s. 3d. To carry [out] this would be a hazardous experiment, the country branches knowing little or nothing of the Association. He argued that there was the London Trades Council to support, and also the National Trades Alliance.[37] This Association should not put the screw on too tight. It had better be satisfied with small grants.

Cremer had a plan which he thought deserving of consideration. He moved the adjournment of the subject to give him an opportunity of bringing it forward, which was not seconded.

Hales moved that the contribution be ½d. per head.

Weston spoke in favour of a fixed sum and in opposition to Lawrence's idea.

Jung seconded Hales's proposal. To carry out the voluntary principle would cause an immense waste of time on our part.

Dell spoke in the same sense as Weston.

Marx accepted Hales's proposition, but suggested that the words "not less than" should be inserted before the words "½d".

Weston and others objected to this suggestion of Marx's and it was not pressed.

Hales's proposition was then carried.

The meeting then adjourned.

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* See p. 40 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The names of the members who voted for the $^1/_2$d. levy: Cremer, Dell, Weston, Hales, Buckley, Lawrence, Massman, Lessner, Gardner, Marx, Hansen, Maurice, Eccarius, Fox, Dupont, Lafargue, Carter.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

October 16th

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The names of those who voted for the resolution of October 9th were ordered to be appended to the Minutes.[38]

Citizens *James Dutton* and *Whitehead* desired to have their names added to the list as approving of the resolution come to by the Central Council.

Weston moved and *Jung* seconded:

That the Secretary read over the aforesaid resolution for several weeks in succession in order to give an opportunity to as many members as possible to adhere thereto. Carried *nem. con.*

The *Secretary**** mentioned Mr. Miall's application to become his tenants-in-chief instead of the Industrial Newspaper Company.[39] Nothing was done on this point. He also spoke about the cards and *carnets*; also, of the necessity of definitively constituting the Standing Committee.

Citizen *J. Dutton* moved that the Standing Committee be appointed for three months from the date of [the] Congress. Seconded by *Carter* and carried *nem. con.*

The following members were added to the Standing Committee, viz., Carter, Whitehead, and Lawrence.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 17-20 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Fox.—*Ed.*

Le Lubez asked leave to bring a personal matter before the Council. In the number of the *Travail*, dated September 30, a co-operative paper published at Ghent, it was stated in a full report of the Congress that one member had been excluded from the Central Council by a unanimous vote, having been guilty of calumniating the Parisian delegates. Le Lubez said that if his information was correct, the vote for his exclusion was *not* unanimous; the London delegates, having spoken against the exclusion, abstained from voting. He demanded that the Council should protect him from this misstatement of the *Travail*.[40]

After *Carter*, *Eccarius*, *Cremer*, and *Jung* had stated what took place on this point at the Congress, *Carter* moved and *Shaw* seconded:

That the matter be referred to the Standing Committee. Carried *nem. con.*

Weston mentioned the debt due to Mr. Leno for printing, which was of long standing.[41] No action was taken on this point.

Cremer brought forward his motion which had been approved of by the Standing Committee; it was:

That a deputation be appointed to wait on the Trades Council to solicit them to use their influence to get the trades societies connected with them to join this Association. Carried *nem. con.*

Cremer, Whitehead, Jung, and as many other members of the Council that could attend were appointed as a deputation.[42]

Cremer reported that [the] coach-makers were likely at their ensuing general meeting to join the Association.

APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARY FOR HOLLAND

Jung moved that Jacques Van Rijen be Corresponding Secretary for Holland. He recited his accomplishments.

Dupont seconded the motion. Carried *nem. con.*

CORRESPONDENCE

Jung read a letter from Switzerland, asking for [the] rules and reports of the principal co-operative societies of Britain.

He was referred to Henry Pitman, editor of the *Co-operator*.[43]

Dupont laid on the table correspondence from Bordeaux, Fleurieux-sur-Saône, calling upon the Council to provide *carnets*.[44]

Carter moved and *Shaw* seconded:

That Dupont be instructed to take this matter in hand and see to their being furnished. Carried *nem. con.*

Dupont read a letter from Fribourg of Paris, arguing that they had a right to print their own essays at their own expense. He also desired Dupont to send over copies of the Constitution* and the amendments as agreed to at Geneva, as he wanted them for the *carnets* they were about to issue.

The *Chairman* cautioned the Council from acceding to the latter part of the letter as the Parisians after issuing *carnets* would never send us a *sou*.

Fox agreed with the Parisians as to their right to publish their own essays.

The Council instructed Dupont to refuse Fribourg's request as the Council would furnish the *carnets*.[45]

EXHIBITION OF 1867

Dupont deferred this question until the next meeting.

PROPAGANDA

Jung urged the Council to proceed with this question without delay.

The Council then adjourned.**

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* The Rules.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 23rd

Citizen *James Dutton* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

James Lee and *Richard Overton* presented their credentials from the United Excavators' Society as delegates thereof to this Council. They paid the entrance fee of 5s., and stated that when they had obtained their yearly returns they would pay the halfpenny levy.[46]

On the motion of *Carter* Lee and Overton were accepted as members of the Council.

The *Secretary*** brought up our relations with Mr. Miall, and it was resolved that we put ourselves in the place of the Industrial Newspaper Company on the terms proposed by Mr. Miall.[47]

The *Secretary* mentioned the fact that in the Syllabus of the lectures of the Working Men's College, the President was delivering a course on the History of Europe in the sixteenth century. He then read aloud the ½d. levy resolution, and it was acceded to by Mr. *Williams*. He gave the address of the Hatters' Society to Mr. Williams, who undertook to see the secretary and sound him on the subject of a deputation. He also read an extract from an American journal stating that some Frenchmen, Hungarians, and Poles in the United States had sent a joint deputation to James Stephens,[48] and were collecting subscriptions for the Irish Republican cause.

Buckley spoke of the want of a Minute Book.

The *Secretary* stated that if permitted he would purchase one out of the money he had in hand.

No objection was made to this.

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* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 20-23 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Fox.—*Ed.*

THE LE LUBEZ AFFAIR AND THE *TRAVAIL*

The *Secretary** brought up the report of the Standing Committee on this affair.

They found that the Minutes of the Congress stated that the ostracising resolution was passed unanimously; on inquiring whether the Minutes were correct in so stating, Jung, the Chairman, stated that he put the "*Contre*" and that no hands were held up in response; that as to abstentions from voting he had declared at the commencement of the Congress that no notice could be taken of these unless a demand was made that such abstentions be inserted in the Minutes. No such demand was made by anybody as the Minutes showed. Citizen Carter had also given evidence before the Committee and had stated that the London delegates purposely and deliberately abstained from voting because they knew they were to be outvoted prodigiously. The Standing Committee therefore concluded that the report in the *Travail* was literally correct. There were indeed the speeches of Odger and Cremer which were in favour of Le Lubez [and] which were recorded in the Minutes. Those delegates might do as they liked in the matter, but they could, under the circumstances, do nothing.

Carter gave the reasons of the London delegates not voting.

Marx and *Jung* spoke.

Weston thought the London delegates did wrong in abstaining from voting. He agreed in the conclusion come to by [the] Standing Committee.

Dell thought the resolution of ostracism against Le Lubez gave evidence of great narrowness of mind. He believed Le Lubez to be a thorough republican and he hoped

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* Fox.—*Ed.*

that the members would sign an address expressive of their sympathy for him.

The report of the Standing Committee was accepted *nem. con.*[49]

CARNETS AND CONTINENTAL SECRETARIES

The *Secretary* stated that Citizen Dupont had arranged to get the *carnets* executed.[50]

Jung said a secretary for Italy was wanted and proposed Carter for that office. Carried *nem. con.*

The extraordinary power of nominating a secretary for Belgium was conferred upon Dupont.

REPORT FROM THE LONDON TRADES COUNCIL

Jung, Cremer, Whitehead, and Carter waited on this body at its last meeting,[51] and the result would appear in the periodical reports of the Council and would be laid before a general delegate meeting on November 28th.

Jung said that a member of the Trades Council objected to being affiliated with an unskilled body like the Excavators.

Citizen *Collet* attended on behalf of the National Reform League of Denmark Street, Soho.[52] On the motion of himself and Mr. Harris it had been decided that that body should consider the propriety of joining. The discussion would come on next Sunday, after 8 o'clock. He desired the presence of a deputation.

Jung, Weston, Carter, and Fox were appointed as the deputation.

EXHIBITION OF 1867[53]

Dupont brought up from the Standing Committee his proposal for the Association to take in hand the business of providing, by means of their correspondents in Paris, for the travelling, boarding, and lodging at a fixed tariff [of] British working men and others desiring to visit the said exhibition. He had opened these proposals to the Parisian delegates at the Congress, and they were ready to co-operate heartily with the Council. The Standing Committee recommended that a special committee be appointed for carrying out this plan and had appointed himself, Cremer, Whitehead, Lucraft, Carter, and Lessner.

The report and appointment of the Standing Committee were adopted.

Carter proposed that the question of helping working men who desired to become exhibitors be referred to the special committee.

Dupont seconded it, and it was carried *nem. con.*

THE EDENBRIDGE RIOT BETWEEN ENGLISH AND BELGIAN NAVVIES

On the interpellation of Citizen *Weston*, Citizen *James Lee*, the Secretary of the United Excavators' Society, made the following statement. He had made inquiries on the spot* concerning the origin of the "difficulty" between the Belgian and the English navvies, and he found that it did not arise from a jealousy of the Continental labourers as such. Messrs. Warings, who had brought the Belgians over, gave notice to the English navvies to quit the huts in which they were living and which they had built. Now, as the English held that their huts were castles, they became irate and assaulted the Belgians. The quarrel was not one of

* Further the Minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 23-24 of the Minute Book.—Ed.

wages or nationality, as had been represented, but one of house and home. Mr. Lee further stated that he had conversed through an interpreter with the Belgians who considered that they had been completely "gulled" by Messrs. Warings' agents who had represented that they would receive from four to six francs a day, whereas they only receive three francs a day for which they must fill 18 waggons a day instead of 15, which is the average amount. Messrs. Warings are demanding from the poor Belgians more than any other contractors in the Kingdom are demanding from the native navvies. The consequence of this has been that many of the Belgians have found that they could stand neither the climate nor the work and have returned. The others would return if they had their passage money.

The United Excavators' Society, being above national prejudices, is not only willing but desirous to enroll the remaining Belgian navvies among its own ranks, and the Belgians seem well disposed to accept the proposals made to them by the agents of the said society.

The meeting then adjourned.*

*October 30***

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary**** read a letter from Citizen Le Lubez which complained of the conduct of the London delegates to Geneva and suggested that his friends should present him with an address.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** No heading; the Minutes are in an unknown hand (with corrections made by Fox) on pp. 24-25 of the Minute Book. The last lines on p. 25 are in Fox's hand.—*Ed.*

*** Fox.—*Ed.*

DELEGATE FROM THE BASKET-MAKERS

Samuel Brighting, a delegate from the Old London Society of Basket-Makers, which meet at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, was now heard.

He stated that the masters were threatening to import Belgian workmen. He asked the Council to use its influence to circumvent this dodge. He declared that he was empowered to affiliate his society to a new Association.

The Belgian and Hollandish secretaries* were instructed to communicate with their respective countries.[54]

Mr. Brighting stated that the master who was engaged in hiring the Belgians was Frederick George Packer of New Cross.

On [the]motion of *Shaw* and *Whitehead* Citizen Brighting, after having signed the application for admission, was elected a member of the General Council.

GAS FITTINGS

The *Secretary* mentioned the matter of the gas fittings and bell work. Mr. Miall wished the International Association either to pay the bill or pay 10 per cent of the amount, viz., 16s. per annum.

On [the] motion of *Whitehead* and *Dell* the latter alternative was adopted unanimously.

The *Secretary* then read an alteration in the form of advertisements in the *Commonwealth*,[55] which met with the approval of the Council.

* Besson and Van Rijen.—*Ed.*

REPORT OF DEPUTATION TO THE NATIONAL REFORM LEAGUE[56]

The *Secretary* brought up this.

He said that Carter, Weston, Dupont, and himself had attended the National Reform League, which meets at the Eclectic Institute, Denmark Street, Soho, on Sunday last. He stated what passed. He was questioned by the members as to the terms of admission and reserved the subject for the consideration of the General Council. The point was, could a political party like the National Reform League be allowed to enter on the same terms as the trades societies?

Shaw, Dupont, Carter, Whitehead, Hales, Dell, and *Weston* delivered their opinions on this question, and it was ultimately referred to the Standing Committee to report to the next meeting.

LYONS *CHÔMAGE*

Dupont read a letter of Fribourg, inviting the General Council to solicit* general subscriptions throughout Europe for the Lyons sufferers, but as the attendance was so small, he would adjourn the matter until next week.

Hales spoke of the feeling of the men of Coventry in reference to the French ribbon and lace trade and also of the state of trade at Coventry.

The meeting then adjourned.**

*November 6th****

Citizen *Jung* was voted into the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* Further the Minutes are in Fox's hand.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** No heading; the Minutes are in an unknown hand (with corrections made by Fox) on pp. 26-28 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Zabicki* presented a letter from the Chairman and Secretary of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles requesting that Citizen Anthony Zabicki be accepted as the Secretary for Poland instead of Citizen Konstantin Bobczynski who had left London for Birmingham.

On [the] motion of *Dupont* this nomination was ratified by the General Council.

A letter from the Secretary of the Elastic Web-Weavers' Society was read announcing their readiness to receive a deputation.

Weston, Jung, and Dupont were appointed a deputation to wait on that body.[57]

The *Secretary** read a letter from Mr. Patterson of Guildford in reference to the Council's Universal Exhibition of 1867 scheme which was handed over to the special committee.[58]

A representative of the Freundschaft-Gesellschaft** was informed that the price of cards for individual members was 1s. and not 3d., as he had been led to believe.

The *Secretary* stated that a lady had undertaken to translate the report of the Congress of Geneva given in the *Vorbote*.[59]

The Secretary announced that he had received a copy of the Parisian *Mémoire* read at the Geneva Congress and described its contents.[60]

Dupont laid on the table the *Tribune du Peuple* containing the appeal to the *garçons coiffeurs* made by their London brethren.[61]

He announced that he had nominated Citizen Besson as Secretary for Belgium and that this nomination had been approved by the Standing Committee.

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* Fox.—*Ed.*
** German Friendship Society.—*Ed.*

The nomination was then confirmed by the General Council.

He then brought up the report of the Standing Committee in reference to the Lyons subscription.

The Committee thought any action taken by the Association at the present time would only reveal their pecuniary weakness and destroy their prestige.

He then read [an excerpt] from the *Coopération*[62] [about] the progress of the co-operative principle at Fleurieux-sur-Saône and Neuville among members of the Association.

Citizen *Carter* thought that the fact that the agricultural population of France were beginning to practise the principle of co-operation ought to receive publicity. He requested the Secretary to translate it for insertion in the *Commonwealth* next week.

The *Secretary* promised to do so.

THE NATIONAL REFORM LEAGUE

The *Secretary* brought up the report of the Standing Committee. They recommended [that] the N.R.L. be admitted on the same terms as those offered to [the] trades societies.

Shaw and *Odger* supported the report of the Committee.

Hales moved that it was inexpedient to adopt the report of the Standing Committee, but after explanation of some of the members thereof, Hales withdrew his opposition, and the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The *Secretary* then brought up the following recommendation of the Standing Committee:

"That no member at the Central Council meetings be allowed to speak more than five minutes."

Odger objected to this, and on [the] motion of *Hales* it was unanimously rejected.

The *Secretary* then brought up the following resolution from the Standing Committee:

1. "That any member of the Central Council who shall be absent for more than four sittings from Council meetings without giving satisfactory reasons therefor, shall be liable to have his name erased from the list of the Council.

2. "This resolution to be immediately communicated to every member of the Council."

A lively discussion sprang up on this resolution, *Carter*, *Lessner*, *Hales*, and *Jung* being in favour of it and *Eccarius*, *Fox*, and *Weston* against it.

Weston thought that at least so important a resolution should not be carried in so thin a meeting and until notice had been given in the *Commonwealth*. He moved that the debate be adjourned until next week; *Lessner* seconded this, and the adjournment was carried unanimously.[63]

The Council then adjourned.*

*November 13***

President *Odger* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary**** read a letter from Citizen Le Lubez in reference to the action he contemplated taking in vindication of himself against the stigma put upon him by the Congress of Geneva.

In the course of the discussion that ensued the *Chairman* stated that he held up his hand against the resolution ostracising Le Lubez.

On *Jung* denying this fact, *Odger* again vouched for it and added that he was sneered at for his singularity.

Cremer, *Carter*, *Jung*, *Hales*, *Fox*, and *Weston* took part in the discussion, and eventually the motion of *Hales* was

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** No heading; the Minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 29-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Fox.—*Ed.*

carried unanimously: That the General Secretary answer Le Lubez's letter in the sense that the General Council can do nothing inconsistent with the resolution of the Congress at whose hands it holds its own appointment.

Jung made a communication in reference [to] what was doing at Chaux-de-Fonds.[64]

Citizen *Brighting*, the delegate of the Basket-Makers' Society, stated that 12 Belgian basket-makers had been brought over by the agent of the Masters' Joint Stock Company, that six of these were at work at the Company's shops at the railway arches in Blue Anchor Lane, Bermondsey. The trade in London consisted of about 400 men, taking Society and non-Society men together. The masters decided to break down the Basket-Makers' Society by importing Continentals to take the place of the Society men. The six Belgians could not be got; as he believed, they slept on the premises. He requested the aid of the Council in communicating with these men.

(At this stage of the proceedings, Odger left the chair and the room to attend another engagement, and Shaw was voted into the chair.)

Dupont stated that Citizen Derkinderen was a Fleming and would be at the service of the basket-makers.

Shaw and *Cremer* advised that no time be lost, and *Cremer* suggested a ruse.

It was finally determined that Fox and Derkinderen should meet Citizen Brighting at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, at 1:15 p.m. on the following day and these concert a plan for enlightenment of the deluded and the enfranchisement of the imprisoned Belgians.*

Lessner laid on the table a copy of the *New-Yorker Democrat*, a New York daily paper in the German language, containing an account of the Geneva Congress by its own special correspondent at Geneva.

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* See p. 55 of the present volume.—Ed.

REPORT OF DEPUTATION

Jung gave an account of his visit to the elastic web-weavers on Monday last. He was alone. He was well received, and he believed that the brother societies of this trade at Leicester, Derby, and Manchester would follow the London society in joining.

Citizen *Hales*, on behalf of the elastic web-weavers of London, numbering only 50 men, put down 10s. and received a large card.[65]

On [the]motion of *Fox*, David Dry was accepted as the web-weavers' delegate to this Council.

Citizen *Collet* implored the Council to lend a hand to the bakers.

Lessner moved and *Hales* seconded:

That Citizen Massman, who was about to take ship for Germany, be authorised to act for this Association in Germany. Carried unanimously.

Cremer stated that he was going on his lecturing tour and asked leave to take 300 copies of the Association's Address[66] with him.

Leave granted unanimously.

Citizen *Hales* gave notice of [a] motion as to the desirability of establishing branches of the Association on the same plan as the Reform League.[67]

Shaw interpellated Cremer about the balance-sheet and received permission to obtain it from Mrs. Cremer.

REPORT FROM EXCURSION COMMITTEE

Carter stated that the committee had met and had appointed Fox as its secretary. The committee desired Fox to write to the several railway companies and to Mr. Cook and the Universal Tourist Company[68] to ascertain the fares that would be charged for return tickets for a week and a fortnight, first and second class.

Fox undertook the office.

The other matters on the order of the day were then adjourned till next week, and the meeting then adjourned.*

*November 20th, 1866***

Vice-President *Eccarius* took the chair and read a letter from Secretary Fox which stated that he would not be present.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read, when Citizen *Jung* said that it was very important that the statement made by Citizen Cremer at the last meeting should be entered in the Minutes, viz., that he, Cremer, never saw Odger hold up his hand against the motion that barred Le Lubez from sitting on the Council.

It was agreed that the statement should be entered. The Minutes were then confirmed.

Citizen Dry took his seat as delegate from the elastic web-weavers.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Jung* said: The Belgians wished to know how the trades societies were admitted, whether members pay an individual subscription or a certain amount for the whole of the society, and what rights had the members of trades societies when their societies had joined. He also informed the Council that Brismée could not give an estimate for printing the general report of the Congress until he knew the size of the pages and the kind of type.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** No heading; the Minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 32-35 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

BASKET-MAKERS

Citizen *Derkinderen* stated that he, in conjunction with Fox and a member of the Basket-Makers' Society, went to Blue Anchor Lane last Wednesday for the purpose of drawing the Belgian basket-makers out of the shops, after providing themselves with a French and a Flemish letter. Fox and Derkinderen went to the shops, they saw the master, and Fox asked him if he could employ Derkinderen's brother who was represented to be a basket-maker and was at present in Belgium. The master said he would employ the brother. He invited Fox and Derkinderen into the workshops, and whilst Fox was entertaining the master in conversation, Derkinderen was pointing out to the Belgians the injury they were inflicting on the English basket-makers and he succeeded in getting two of them to come out of the shops to have a glass of drink, although the master objected very much. The two Belgians, at their interview with the English basket-makers, were so impressed of the wrong that they were doing to the English, that they resolved to go back to the shops, pack up their tools, and persuade the other four men to come out.

They did not succeed in bringing the four men out that day. They went to the Basket-Makers' Society house at the Bell, Old Bailey. They were well received and provided with a bed and everything they could require by the basket-makers.

On the next day they went back to the shops and induced the other four men to come out.

The basket-makers paid the passage money for the six men to Belgium and supplied them with money as well. They saw them on board ship bound for home, and just as the vessel was starting the master basket-makers made their appearance and tried to induce the men to return, but they failed, and the men sailed away determined to prevent any more Belgians coming over here under the same circumstances.

The basket-makers had heard that some more Belgians were coming. They were on the look-out. They saw a vessel arrive with two Belgians aboard, each had a pattern basket. Derkinderen spoke to them and explained the state of affairs, took them to a Flemish hotel where they were kept until Sunday and then sent home by the Basket-Makers' Society.

Derkinderen also said that seven Dutchmen arrived on Friday last; the masters met them at Gravesend and brought them to Bermondsey by rail.

A letter was sent into the shops to the Dutchmen, but none of them could read, so the master had the letter given to him to read; consequently its object was frustrated.

Derkinderen went to the shops on the Saturday afternoon, saw the master bring the Dutchmen out and take them to several coffee-houses to obtain lodgings. Derkinderen tried to persuade the Dutchmen to leave the master, but did not succeed. The master took the men to his private house to sleep, and the basket-makers consider that the Dutchmen will do the master more harm than good, so they have decided to let them stop where they are.

Derkinderen said that the basket-makers had well satisfied him for his trouble.

On the motion [of] Citizen *Jung*, seconded by Citizen *Marx*, a vote of thanks was awarded to Citizen Derkinderen for his zealous and intelligent services; carried.

On [the] motion of Citizen *Marx*, seconded by Citizen *Jung*, the Secretary was directed to write to Citizen Collet remonstrating with him on account of his neglect in printing the *carnets*.[69]

On the resolution from the Standing Committee being read with regard to absentees,* the following amendment was carried:

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* See pp. 58-59 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

That a book be provided for the members of the Council to sign their names in; the said book to be presented to [the] Congress for inspection; and, if any delegate from a society should be absent more than four nights without assigning [a] reason for so doing, the Secretary shall write to the society he represents and inform them of the neglect.

Citizen Hales's proposition for establishing branches of the Association fell to the ground as being impracticable at the present time.*

Citizen *Jung* reminded the Council that a deputation must wait upon the Trades Council on the 28th instant.[70]

Jung, Hales, Dupont, Shaw, Eccarius, Lessner, Whitehead, Cremer, and Marx were appointed to go. This meeting will not be held until December 12th.

It was proposed by Citizen *Marx* and seconded by Citizen *Jung*:

That the anniversary of the Polish Insurrection be celebrated on the 22nd of January. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.**

*November 27****

Citizen *Jung* was appointed chairman.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary***** began by stating that he observed an omission in the narrative of Derkinderen *à propos* of the basket-makers' affair, as rendered by temporary Secretary Shaw. The omission was that the promise had been given by the representatives of the London

* See p. 61 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** No heading; the Minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 36-41 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** Fox.—*Ed.*

basket-makers to the Flemings, to Derkinderen, and [to] himself, as representing the General Council, and that Derkinderen [and he] himself had, in their turn, passed their word to the Flemings that the General Council would see to the execution of this promise, which was, that when the dispute was over and trade was good, information of the fact should be sent over to the returned Flemings and that the Basket-Makers' Trades Society would do its utmost to procure them work from the moment of their landing and adopt them as members of their society.

Citizen *Dupont* said that Derkinderen had stated as much to the General Council.

The Council thereupon resolved that record of this promise and guarantee of the same should be set down in the Minutes.

The *General Secretary* then laid upon the table a copy of the private prospectus issued by the master basket-makers for the purpose of starting a joint-stock company whose object it would be to break down the trades societies of the men.

He also laid upon the table a copy of the *Travailleur Associé* of Ghent and gave a summary of its contents.[71]

He further laid upon the table an account from the proprietors of the *Commonwealth* for 39 insertions of the Association's advertisements therein down to November 24.

He also read a letter from F. Hakowski, the Secretary of the recently formed Society of Polish Working Men in London, which informed the Council of the organisation and constitution of that society and enclosed copies of their rules in the Polish language.

The Secretary was directed to respond to this letter.

The *Secretary* then stated that he, Marx, and Eccarius had been invited to attend the Polish celebration of the anniversary of November 29, 1830, and that he intended certainly to attend.

Marx also declared that he would attend.

He [the Secretary] then gave the reason why the lady, who had promised to translate the account of the Congress of Geneva as given in the *Vorbote* for the *Commonwealth*, had not yet completed and forwarded her work, and further stated the concessions he had made to her religious scruples in the matter of the translation.

In his capacity of American Secretary, he desired the Secretaries for Germany and France to procure a certain information for him in reference to the scale of postage on letters to the United States from France and Northern Germany respectively.

RESIGNATION OF SECRETARYSHIP

Fox then stated, with regret, that circumstances compelled him to tender his resignation of the office of General Secretary to the Association. He was about to engage actively in a commercial pursuit which would specially occupy his evenings and nights during the winter season, and to give up an evening would, therefore, be to give up a day. He desired that his resignation should take effect as from and after December 1. He would then have served the Association as interim and regular General Secretary for the space of three calendar months.

Jung and *Marx* thought the notice given by Fox was not long enough, and *Fox* agreed to hold on to the office until Tuesday, the 4th [of] December, but could not undertake to be present at the Council's sitting on that evening.

Jung stated that he had received a remittance from Citizen Dupleix amounting to £4, as a first instalment towards the publication, as ordered by the Congress, of its transactions. Dupleix's letter stated that an appeal had been made to the Swiss sections and that, when the fruits of this appeal had matured, he would send more money.

He, Dupleix, was surprised that money could not be procured in England to suffice for this purpose. He implored the Council to hasten the printing of the transactions of the Congress, as they were being called for on all sides. The delay was operating very prejudicially to the Association.

Jung further stated that three packages of newspapers had been sent from Geneva addressed severally to himself, Marx, and Lessner, and neither packet had come to hand. They had been sent through Prussia in order to avoid the clutches of Bonaparte. The precaution had been futile, for the Hohenzollern was at least as inquisitorial as the Bonaparte. In a word, their communication with Geneva by means of newspapers was intercepted, as both the German and French routes were blocked up.

Jung further mentioned the case of a manufacturer of St. Imier who had absconded when largely in debt to his work-people. The *ouvriers* of St. Imier requested that a universal, cosmopolitan hue and cry should be raised against the scoundrel, so that on this wide earth there should be no foot of ground that would not parch the soles of his feet.

The Council were of opinion that they could not take action in this melancholy affair.

Jung added to his first statement that Becker had sent the August number of the *Vorbote* three times, twice through France and once through Prussia, addressed to him (Jung), and all three times it had been intercepted.

Citizen *Zabicki* suggested that the fault lay in not paying sufficient postage, the route through Germany being more expensive than that through France. In this case, the newspapers would be lying at the Genevese or some other Continental post-office.

Jung also reported the formation of another branch in the vicinity of Chaux-de-Fonds.

Fox asked Dupont if he had received any letters from France lately.

Dupont replied that all his lines of communication had been suddenly cut. He had not received a single letter.

Fox then proceeded to say that the French Government had, since the close of the Geneva Congress, departed from its policy of neutrality towards them and was levying war upon them. The French Government had allowed us two years' growth and we were now able to defy the Continental blockade which the French and the Prussian governments had declared against us. We could no longer trust the French and Prussian post-offices; we must seek indirect and secret means of communication with our Continental friends.

Marx said that we must force Bonaparte to declare himself, in order that any credit he may have gained for his liberality in letting us flourish unmolested might be lost to him.

Carter suggested that we had better await the result of the Secretary's application to Lord Stanley in reference to the papers seized on Jules Gottraux before bringing the matter before the public, and the good sense of this immediately commended itself to all, and the policy of "wait-a-little-longer" received unanimous adhesion.

THE HATTERS' SOCIETY

Fox regretted the delay that had taken place in reference to our deputation to this important body. Odger had told him that the hafters met at the Marquess of Granby public house in the Borough, but he (Fox) had forgotten the name of the street. He begged the Council to get the address and push the matter forward.

The Council then adjourned.*

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*December 4**

Vice-President *Eccarius* took the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Jung stated that the Standing Committee requested Shaw to accept the post of minute-taker.

Shaw said that it was highly probable that he should have to leave London to find work, but he did not decline the office pressed upon him.

Fox who acted as secretary for the evening then read a letter from Lord Stanley, dated November 29, informing him (Fox) that he (Lord Stanley) had requested Lord Cowley to inquire into the case of Jules Gottraux and the papers taken from him.[72]

APPLICATION FOR RENT

Fox further stated that Mr. Arthur Miall had applied for the quarter's rent due last Michaelmas.[73]

The Council ordered the consideration of this matter to be postponed as there were so few members present.

BASKET-MAKERS AND THE BELGIANS

Fox recommended that Derkinderen should obtain from the leading basket-makers a written confirmation of the promises they made to the imported Flemings in the presence of himself and Derkinderen. The General Council were the natural guarantors of this promise.

In reference to the address of the Hatters' Society Lee promised to obtain it and transmit it to the General Council.

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* No heading; the Minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 41-45 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

THE POLISH CELEBRATION OF NOVEMBER 29

Fox stated that himself and Eccarius had been present as invited guests at the dinner given by the Poles at Gzechowski's Hotel de Pologne, 1, Nassau Street, Soho. Illness had prevented Marx from attending.

He then laid down his office of General Secretary.

THE UNITED EXCAVATORS' SOIRÉE

Jung and *Carter* gave in their report of their evening's doings on the 29th. They had attended by invitation the above soirée at the Temperance Hall, Cherry Garden Street, with two friends and had had a pleasant time of it.[74]

Carter took a note of the blooming beauty of the young women of the excavators' families.

SWISS NEWS

Jung had heard from Dupleix during the week, the letter and the November *Vorbote* having arrived as merchandise in a box for which he had to pay 6s. 10d. The Lyonnese had informed Dupleix that no letter had been received by them from Dupont, which default they attributed to the French post-office authorities. The Lyonnese were quite opposed to the Parisian proposal to raise a subscription for the unwillingly idle workmen. The money would only get into the hands of the Bonapartists. Many hundreds, however, were anxious to emigrate to America and commence the manufacture of silk there.

Jung here requested Fox, as Secretary for the United States, to make a note of this, and *Fox* said he knew a good channel for publishing this fact in the United States.

Jung continued. A letter from Becker in the same box

announced the formation of numerous branches in Germany. Becker had also received a letter from a Genoese member of our Association,* which stated that the annual congress of Italian working men's associations was to have been held at Palermo, but the disturbances of which that city had been the theatre forbade the execution of that design. The said congress would probably assemble at Venice before the close of this year, and one of the chief subjects for discussion would be the expediency of adhering to this Association.[75]

FROM THE STANDING COMMITTEE

Jung said that the Standing Committee had met on the previous Saturday.

Orsini had returned from the United States and had made a statement thereat. Orsini had had interviews with Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and Horace Greeley who had all joined our Association. Wendell Phillips said he could give the proceeds of one of his lectures to the Association, when he was authoritatively informed of the purposes to which the money would be put. Orsini had no doubt some 3,000 to 4,000 francs could at once and easily be procured from the United States. James Stephens, the Irish Republican leader, had joined our Association.

The Standing Committee proposed that new credentials should be issued to Orsini, who was returning to America in January 1867.

Jung further stated that, through some neglect, Orsini's name was not inserted among the printed list of the General Council.

The Council ordered this omission to be repaired on the next occasion of printing the list of the General Council.[76]

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* Apparently Canessa.—*Ed.*

The Standing Committee further requested the delegates to the Geneva Congress to meet together to settle the form in which the Minutes should be printed and to confirm the accuracy of the draft of them which had been made.[77]

BALANCE-SHEET

Jung pressed upon the Council the desirability of sending a copy of the balance-sheet to the Amalgamated Carpenters' and Bricklayers' societies respectively.

Shaw said he had been unable to extract the balance-sheet from Cremer, who had failed to keep his promise to forward it to him (Shaw).

MAZZINI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ASSOCIATION

Orsini, who had just entered the room, desired to state the substance of an interview of several hours' duration which he had that morning with Joseph Mazzini. The whole of that time had been devoted to conversation concerning the Association. Mazzini acknowledged that he had been deceived by the reports of Wolff, Lama, and others. Mazzini claimed that for 35 years he had preached the abolition of wages-slavery and the right of the workman to participate in the profits of his work. That, for all that, he did not concur in every sentiment given utterance to in the original Address of the Association.[78] That he was ready to enter into a debate concerning the principles of our Association; that he would be happy to receive a deputation from the General Council to talk the matter over with him at his private house; that he could not attend Bouverie Street on account of the infirmity of his health, and that he disavowed any responsibility for anything that might have been said by Wolff or others concerning himself.

LETTERS TO FRIENDS IN AMERICA

Orsini requested Fox to write a letter to six German and French politicians whom he named and whose addresses he gave to Fox to inform them of the objects for which the Council stood in need of funds.

Fox undertook to write, as requested, immediately.

COMMUNICATIONS WITH FRANCE

Dupont, on being interpellated, stated that he had received not a single letter from France.

THE £4 FROM SWITZERLAND

Fox requested Jung to account to Shaw for the £4 he had in hand from Geneva.

The Council then adjourned.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

December 11th

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair, *Shaw* secretary.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read. Confirmed.

Dupont read a letter from the Paris bookbinders consisting of men and women who had joined the Association; the writer said it was a happy thing that the Association was in existence in order to resist the importation

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 45-46 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

of foreign workmen as in the case of the basket-makers. Varlin* said that no letter had been received from Dupont for six weeks. Fribourg, Chemalé, and others had written, but had received no answers. The letter contained a variety of addresses for Dupont to write to, so as to evade the police; it also requested Dupont to state in each letter that he wrote the date of the last letter he had received.

A letter was read from the tailors of Paris, thanking the tailors of London for their address and promising to help when need might occur.

A deputation was present from the Coach-Trimmers and Harness-Makers' Society, held at The Globe, North Audley Street, Grosvenor Square. They were anxious to know something about the principles of the Association. They were supplied with the Laws which they partly read, and then said they would bring the matter before their society on the quarterly night which would be on the first Monday in February.

A deputation was promised to be sent to them on that night.[79]

Mr. *Lee* then gave in the address of Hatters' Society as follows: Anchor and Eight Bells, Bermondsey Street, Bermondsey. The secretary's name is William Harrison and he works at Christies's in the same street.

Mr. Lee also stated that in consequence of the suspension of the work of Messrs. Warings, the Belgian navvies were almost starving. He had been making inquiries and he had found that Warings' agent had told the Belgians that they could earn from 5 to 6 francs per day whereas they had only been able to earn from 2s. 4d. to 3s. 6d. per day. The agent had also promised them 25 francs each for travelling expenses as well as food, but they had had

* Here in the Minutes the name Chemalé was originally written and then crossed out.—*Ed.*

neither, and as none of them could produce a written agreement, it was impossible to do anything with Messrs. Warings for breach of contract.

Jung said he had received a letter from Geneva, stating that much progress had been made in the Association since the Congress. The watchmakers had joined in great numbers.

Lawrence, Secretary of the Tailors' Society, sent an apology to the Council for his non-attendance. He should like the meeting-night changed. The subject of changing the night was discussed with no result.

Jung drew attention to the Trades Council meeting which would take place on the 12th.

The names of the deputation were read over; all that were present were requested to attend.

The meeting then adjourned.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

December 18th

Citizen *Jung* in the chair, *Shaw* secretary *pro tem.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Jung reported that the deputation had attended the Trades Council on the 12[th] instant, but the meeting was adjourned until the 19th, on which date the Council would be heard on the first opening of the business.

The members of the deputation were strictly enjoined to attend.[80]

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 47-48 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

POLAND.

PROGRAMME.

OF THE

TEA PARTY & PUBLIC MEETING,

HELD IN

CAMBRIDGE HALL,

NEWMAN STREET,

ON JANUARY 22nd, 1867,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LAST POLISH REVOLUTION, of 1863.

TEA SERVED AT 7 O'CLOCK.

During Tea the Band of the Musical Instrument Makers will perform as follows

1 Polish National hymn,	5 French Bouquet Quadrille
2 Tancredi's Overture	6 Marseillais
3 Juliet Waltz	7 Pretty Bird's Waltz
4 A Polish Hymn	8 Garibaldi's Air
	9 Orpheus Gallop

AFTER TEA,

The Chairman will introduce the Chorus, to Sing the Polish Anthem,

"BOZE COS POLSKE."

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY ORATION.

After which will be proposed and seconded,—

1st RESOLUTION.

The Poles here assembled to commemorate the Anniversary of their insurrection, declare that they faithfully adhere to the manifesto of the Polish National Government, dated January 22nd, 1863, which Manifesto abolished all privileges, endowed the peasantry with land, and proclaimed all the inhabitants without distinction, free and equal before the law, and they firmly believe that this is the only available means whereby to resist the present nefarious attempts of the Muscovite Czar to decompose Polish Society into fragments of various classes, religions, and races, and the only just principle whereon to consolidate the unity of the people, and to organize a national power sufficiently strong to recover their freedom and independence, and further, they appeal to this meeting to declare that in the prosecution of these their aims, they are entitled to the good-will and co-operation of all free and civilized people, and especially, the working classes throughout the world.

2nd RESOLUTION.

That liberty cannot be established in Europe without the independence of Poland.

3rd RESOLUTION.

La Branch francaise de l'association internationale des travailleurs proteste au nom de la solidarité des peuples contre l'asservissement des Polonais et leur promet son concours pour les aider à se reconstituer sur des bases républicaines, démocratiques, et sociales.

TRANSLATION,

The French Branch of the International Working Men's Association protests in the name of the community of interest among nations, against the enslavement of the Poles, and pledges to the latter their aid towards the reconstitution of Poland on democratic republican and socialist bases.

4th RESOLUTION.

That the recent abolition of the "Congress Poland" by the Czar is an insult to those great powers of Europe, which promulgated those arrangements by their connivance, mutual jealousies, but that we who represent the popular sentiment and interest cannot regret the sweeping away of the unrighteous and inevitably abortive compromise of 1815, but even are glad that henceforth the Polish question is necessary reduced to this simple issue; either to acquiesce in the total disappearance of the name of Poland from the Map of Europe or to champion its re-establishment with the boundaries of 1772.

After the Resolutions are passed the Band will play the Polish National Hymn

"IESZCZE POLSKA NIEZGINELA."

Leaflet with the programme of the public meeting held to commemorate the anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1863

CORRESPONDENCE FROM FRANCE

Dupont stated that the two letters that he had sent to Lyons on the 2nd and 24[th] of November had arrived safe, but the *carnets* had not arrived although they had been sent three weeks ago.[81] He also read extracts from the *Courrier Français*[82] which were favourable to the Association, as well as the programme for electing the new Administration of Paris which would be decided on the 13th of January 1867.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM SWITZERLAND

Jung stated that great activity was being displayed in Switzerland by the Association. A meeting had been held at Locle, on the 25th of November. A branch was opened, a committee appointed, and a large number of members made; besides a large number had joined other branches of the Association.

Jung also said that [a] branch of the Association was being formed in Clerkenwell.

HOLLAND

Van Rijen reported that he had translated the Rules and Address and made arrangements for the publication of them in a Dutch newspaper.

Marx reported that *Revue des deux Mondes* and *Revue Contemporaine* had been commenting on the doings of the Association, and, although they did not agree with the objects of the Association entirely, still they acknowledged it to be one of the leading events of the present century. Marx also said that the *Fortnightly Review*[83] had been commenting on the matter.

CELEBRATION OF THE POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1863

Citizen *Bobczynski* said he understood that the Council intended to celebrate the Polish Insurrection on the 22nd of January 1867. He should like to know what form it would take.

After some discussion it was agreed:

That a tea-party and public meeting should take place under the auspices of this Association and the Polish Society. Music to accompany the tea-party. Addresses to be delivered and resolutions submitted to the meeting, and that the Standing Committee prepare the programme and submit it to the Council on its next meeting.

The Council then adjourned until January 1, 1867.*

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

1867

*January 1, 1867**

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

Fox stated that he had received a communication from the British Foreign Office, dated December 21/66, and a packet of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and letters. The letter informed him that the package contained the papers seized upon Jules Gottraux in September last and for which application [had] been made to the French Minister of the Interior and to Lord Stanley. Fox then detailed the contents of the package, which included a bundle of copies of the *Tribune du Peuple*, which had *not* been seized on Gottraux.

The General Council then, on the motion of Fox, passed the following resolution:

That the General Council of the International Working Men's Association tenders its thanks to Lord Stanley for his just and efficacious intervention with the French Government with a view to obtain for the said General Council the papers and letters belonging to it, which were seized upon the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject, on September 30, 1866.

Fox was directed and undertook to communicate this resolution to Lord Stanley.

In reference to publishing an account of this transaction, Fox argued against a too large ventilation thereof, but recommended that its publication be confined either

* No heading; the Minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 48-51 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

to the *Commonwealth* alone or to the said paper and *Reynolds's*.[84]

After some discussion it was unanimously resolved that it should be published in the *Commonwealth* and in *Reynolds's*.

THE LYONS SILK-WEAVERS

Fox asked for and received the authorisation of the Council to correspond with the American protectionist journals and statesmen in reference to the Lyons silk-weavers who desire to emigrate to the United States.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM FRANCE

Dupont said he was happy to announce that he had received several communications from the French provinces after the interruption put to his correspondence during the last three months. He read:

(1) A summary of a letter from Lefebvre of Neufchâteau (Vosges) which called for the *compte rendu* of the Geneva Congress.

(2) From Fleurieux-sur-Saône which lamented the seizure of the *carnets* sent from London, but announced that they had 107 members and that their co-operative coal store was succeeding beyond their expectations.

(3) From Bordeaux, calling for the *compte rendu*.

(4) From Rouen, saying that the delay of the General Council in publishing the *compte rendu* of the Congress was ruining the Association in Normandy. The letter sent the contributions of 20 members towards this object (in French postage stamps).

(5) A letter from Cheval, a French member in Belgium, announcing the sale of some cards.

Dupont handed in an article on our Association published in the *Echo [de la] Gironde* and also the last num-

ber of the *Courrier Français*, containing an announcement from the Paris Managing Committee that the *Mémoire* presented by them to the Geneva Congress and which had been printed in Belgium,[85] because no French printer would publish it, had been seized at the Belgium frontier; also remarks by the editor of the *Courrier Français*.

Dupont also asked for permission to cut from 12 copies of the report of the Geneva Congress in the French language[86] —about 50 copies of which were among the papers received from the British Foreign Office—the pages containing the *Règlements* of the Association, in order that he might send them by letter to his correspondents in the provinces of France. Leave granted.

Jung read some information in reference to the progress of the Association in Switzerland, and also read some extracts from the *Espiègle*, containing another fulminating letter from Vésinier.

At this moment a letter was received from Citizen Cremer. The letter contained the balance-sheet of the funds of the Association[87] and announced his resignation of membership in the Council, the reason being that the Council had concerted with a trio of well-known ancient enemies of his to damage his reputation and had threatened to make public the fact that he had neglected to return the balance-sheet to the General Secretary.

No action was taken hereupon.

POLISH CELEBRATION

Fox then stated the arrangements which had been made by the Standing Committee at its meeting on Saturday and read the contents of the card of admission.

Shaw laid on the table the cards of admission to the soirée and meeting.

Inasmuch as Citizen Odger had sent no letter saying whether his engagements would permit him to take the

chair on the 22nd, and inasmuch as the printing of the bills was thereby hindered,[88] it was resolved that the announcement in the bills should be:

"The chair will be taken by a member of the General Council of the International W. A."

A member of the French branch announced that that branch would take part in the meeting and move a resolution.

The Council then adjourned.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

January 8th, 1867

Citizen *Jung* was appointed to take the chair.

A deputation from the pattern-drawers and block-cutters, Middleton Arms, Mansfield Street, Kingsland Road, attended for the purpose of joining the Association.[89] They also stated that they were on strike against one employer (viz., Mr. Huntington of Holloway) and that they had been led to believe that men had been engaged in France to come over to supplant them.

Eccarius then took the chair, and Citizen *Jung* moved and Citizen *Lessner* seconded:

That the block-cutters and pattern-drawers be admitted as an affiliated society. Carried *nem. con.*

On the motion of Citizen *Jung* Dupont was directed to write to Paris on the subject of the block-cutters' dispute.

MINUTES

Citizen *Fox* read the Minutes of the last meeting which were confirmed.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 51-53 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen Collet was elected as the delegate from the French branch of the Association[90] on the motion [of] Citizen *Jung*, seconded by Citizen *Dupont*.

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Naples stating that Dassy had been unable to write in consequence of severe illness.

He also gave satisfactory reasons why he had not published the resolution of the Council to Lord Stanley in the *Commonwealth*.*

A letter was read from Mr. Reaveley of the Coach-Makers' Society, Green Man, Berwick Street, stating that a deputation might attend on Wednesday evening.

Citizens Jung and Combault were appointed to attend.[91]

COURRIER FRANÇAIS

Citizen *Fox* read several passages from this journal relating to this Association.

Citizen *Dupont* said the musical instrument-makers would hold a general meeting on Monday the 14th at 8 o'clock, p.m., and would receive a deputation from this Council.

Carter, Lessner, Collet, Lafargue, and Van Rijen were appointed to attend.

On the motion of Citizen *Fox*, it was unanimously agreed: That the thanks of the Council be sent to Miss Hosburgh for translating the report of the Geneva Congress from the *Vorbote*.[92]

TRADES COUNCIL

A long discussion took place as to what plan of action should be submitted to the Trades Council, which ended

* See p. 79 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

by most of the members promising to attend the Council on Wednesday evening.

Citizen *Lee* stated that the excavators intended holding their first annual meeting on the 21st of January at the Lambeth Baths. He invited the Council to attend if convenient.[93]

A letter was read from the Reform League inviting the Council to take part in the demonstration.[94]

A letter was read from Cremer stating that the organ-builders had joined this Association.

A letter was read from Odger requesting the Council to meet the Trades Council at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, on Wednesday evening.[95]

The Council adjourned to January 15th.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

January 15th, 1867

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and after an addition suggested by Citizen *Fox* confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* then asked the Council to allow Mr. Luscombe, the author of a Reform Song, to use the Address of the Association for the purpose [of] furthering its sale; permission was granted unanimously.

Mr. *Cohn* then paid over £1 9s. as the annual subscription from the Cigar-Makers' Society, and stated that the cigar-makers of Bremen had applied to the London cigar-makers for [a] copy of their Laws for the purpose [of] forming a society at Bremen on the same principles.

Citizen *Fox* reported that his article on the conduct of the French Government with regard to this Association

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 53-57 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

and the vote of thanks to Lord Stanley were published in the *Commonwealth* and the *International Courier*, and suggested that it should be placed in the Minute Book, which was agreed to accordingly.*

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WORKING MEN

During the first two years of the existence of this Association, and until after the assembling of the Geneva Congress, the General Council had little or no complaint to make of the conduct of the French Government towards the International Working Men's Association. The Council's communications, with its correspondents in France, were not interrupted; the sale of tickets not seriously impeded. If, here and there, the local authorities threatened dire consequences to the Council's agents, if they proceeded to enrol members, those threats were but *brutum fulmen*, and were not executed upon those who had the courage to act in defiance of them.

This much is quite consistent with the fact that the very existence of the French Empire and of the laws of public safety,[96] which it declares are necessary for its maintenance, did greatly impede the progress of the Association. In the first place, the non-existence of the right of public meeting prevented the members of the Association from meeting together and organising their sections in an overt and formal manner. But the General Council neither expected nor desired that the laws of the Empire should be specially modified to suit their interests. The damage done to them in this manner had nothing in it "specially" invidious to themselves. It was an injury

* Here a page of the printer's proofs of Fox's article in *The Working Man* No. 2, February 1, 1867, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

which was inflicted primarily on the whole French nation, and secondarily upon every advanced Liberal and Democrat in Europe, all of whom have an interest in the existence of the right of public meeting in France. Hence, they make no public complaint on this account.

In the second place, the general spirit of terrorism, upon which the French Government so much relies, could not but have deterred many Frenchmen, who agreed with the principles and design of the Association, from becoming members thereof and linking themselves to its fortunes in France. But this damage also is general and indirect. Moreover, it was known to the founders of the Association that this would be one of the obstacles to its success in France. The General Council were prepared for a certain amount of uphill work, in consequence of the prevailing terror in all that relates to independent political action in France, and therefore they do not come forward now to make a complaint on this score.

Had the French Government continued to preserve that attitude of (perhaps contemptuous) neutrality which it observed up to, and during, the Congress of Geneva, the General Council would not have been compelled to make the present statement to the members of the Association. But from and after the assembling of the Congress at Geneva the French Government saw fit to alter its attitude towards the Association. The motives for this change of policy cannot be found in any special act of antagonism committed either by the General Council or by the delegates to the Congress, French or non-French.

It would have been the height of folly on the part of the General Council, or the delegates of the Congress, to court and invite the hostility of the French Government. Some few Parisian members of the Association who attended the Congress in their individual capacities thought otherwise, but as they were not delegates, they were not allowed to speak at the Congress.[97] The delegates went

about the weighty business they had in hand, and did not diverge to the right hand or to the left, for the purpose of making an anti-Bonapartist demonstration.

One of the first signs of a change for the worse on the part of the French Government was the case of Jules Gottraux. Jules Gottraux is a native of Switzerland, and a naturalised subject of the British State. He is domiciled in London, and in September last was on a visit to his relatives in or about Geneva. The Managing Committees of the German-Swiss and French-Swiss sections at Geneva entrusted to his care some letters, and a number of pamphlets and newspapers relating to the transactions of the Association, which were all, without exception, to be delivered to the General Council in London. On proceeding from Geneva to London, on Sept. 30, the valise of Gottraux was searched by French policemen at the Franco-Swiss frontier, and these letters and printed documents taken from him.

This was an outrage which the General Council, when put in possession of the facts, resolved not quietly to endure. That the French Government, which enacts the law, may make it legal to seize printed matter and correspondence coming from abroad and directed to a French citizen, or even a mere resident in France, the Council did not deny; but for the French Government to exercise the same right of paternal "surveillance" over the communications between Switzers and Britons, or even residents in Great Britain, was a stretch of authority that the General Council felt itself bound to oppose. The outrage was not* aggravated by the fact that the literature seized in no way concerned the French Government, and did not belong to the category of the anti-Bonapartist philippics, because, whatever the character of the liter-

* Here the word "not" is inserted by Fox instead of the struck-out word "also".—*Ed.*

ature, the Council denies the right of the French Government, while at peace with Switzerland and Great Britain, to intercept the communications between the citizens of the two countries.

The first step taken by the Council in this matter was to write a respectful letter to the "Ministre de l'Intérieur", stating the facts, requesting an inquiry into their accuracy, and terminating with a petition for the surrender of the letters and printed matter seized upon Gottraux.

The Council waited five weeks for a reply to their memorial. None came, and this silence was a proof that the French Government assumed responsibility for the act of its subordinate agents. Only then did the Council resolve to appeal to Lord Stanley, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for redress, grounding their appeal upon the facts that Gottraux was a British subject, and that the General Council was composed of subjects and denizens in Great Britain.

Lord Stanley, be it said to his credit, heard this appeal, and directed Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, to ask for the restitution of the said letters and printed matter.

On the 21st ult., the Council received a letter from Mr. Hammond (of the Foreign Office), accompanying a parcel sealed with the seal of the British Embassy. The letter informed the Council that the parcel contained the papers which had been seized upon Gottraux.

It did contain the confiscated letters and printed matter, and also, strange to say, some newspapers not seized upon Gottraux, nor coming from Switzerland. These newspapers were two bundles of the Brussels *Tribune du Peuple*, a paper doubtless highly obnoxious to the French Government, and the principal organ of the Association in Belgium. These papers had been addressed to some French members, and the Council, far from having de-

Celebration of the Polish Insurrection of 1863

Citizen Bobczynski said he understood that the Council intended to celebrate the Polish Insurrection on the 22nd of January 1867 He should like to know what form it would take. After some discussion it was agreed that a tea-party and public Meeting should take place under the auspices of this association and the Polish Society. Music to accompany the tea-party. Addresses to be delivered and resolutions submitted to the Meeting and that the Standing Committee prepare the programme and submit it to the Council on its next Meeting

The Council then Adjourned until Jan 1st/67

1867.

Jan. 1, 1867.

V.P. Eccarius in the Chair.

Fox stated that he had received a communication from the Switzerland Foreign Office, dated Dec. 21/66 + a packet of books, pamphlets newspapers + letters. The letter informed him that the package contained the Progress seized upon Jules Gotteaux in Lyons last and for which application been made to the English Marquis of the Interior + to Lord Stanley. He then detailed the contents of the package which included a bundle of copies of the Tribune du peuple which had not been seized on Gotteaux.

The General Council then on the motion of Fox, passed the following resolution:

"That the General Council of the International Workingmens Association tenders its thanks to Lord Stanley for his just + efficacious

Page of the Minute Book with Minutes recorded by Shaw and Fox

manded their restitution, were unaware of their having been seized. These two bundles had upon them the official seal of the Administration of Public Safety.

In order to conclude this case of Gottraux's, the undersigned inserts here a resolution passed on the first instant by the General Council.

"Resolved, that the General Council of the International Working Men's Association tenders its thanks to Lord Stanley for his just and efficacious intervention with the French Government with a view to obtain for the said General Council the papers and letters belonging to it, which were seized upon the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject, on Sept. 30, 1866." At the same time the undersigned was directed to communicate a copy of the same, without delay, to Lord Stanley.

In November last, Citizen Dupont, the Council's Secretary for France, found that letters sent by him to the Association's agents in France were seized, and also that letters directed to him from all parts of France did not come to hand. *A fortiori*, the French post-office was closed against the delivery of printed matter addressed by the Council to its agents in France and *vice versa*.

Of course Citizen Dupont can no longer confide in the French post-office.

The latest news under this head is that, whereas the blockade against printed matter directed to French citizens and members of the Association is still stringently enforced, letters from the French provinces directed to Dupont have of late, once more, come through, although letters so directed from Paris continue to be detained!

Another fact is reported in the last number of the *Courrier Français*. The interesting essay contributed by the Parisian delegates to the Geneva Congress, parts of which have already been published in the *Courrier Français* without evil consequences, was sent to Brussels to be printed, only because no printer in Paris would undertake

to execute the job. This memorial, be it said, is directed against the capitalist class, but is silent concerning the present Government of France. Nevertheless, the printed edition of this memorial has been seized by the postal authorities of France and confiscated.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to say how long the French Government will continue to allow the sale of tickets of membership in the Association, and abstain from persecuting the prominent members thereof, who live subject to its jurisdiction.

By order of the General Council,

Peter Fox

*January 5, 1867**

Citizen *Jung* then reported his mission to the Coach-Makers' Friendly Society held at the Green Man, Berwick Street, and concluded by moving that the coach-makers be accepted as an affiliated society.

The motion was agreed to unanimously, and Citizen Reaveley was elected as the delegate on this Council to represent that society.

Citizen *Reaveley* then paid 5s. as enrolment fee for his society and 1s. as his contribution.

A letter was read from Citizen Odger stating that the resolution passed by the London Trades Council on the 9th instant would be found in the *Times* newspaper of that day.

The following is the resolution:**

THE LONDON TRADES COUNCIL AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting of the London Trades Council, held last night at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, Mr. Danter (President of the Society of Amalgamated Engineers) in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That the meeting is of opinion

* The newspaper text ends here.—*Ed.*

** Here a newspaper clipping is pasted into the Minute Book. —*Ed.*

that the position of the working man can never be much improved, and is in imminent danger of being seriously depreciated, whilst the people of different countries have no regular intercommunication among themselves for the purpose of regulating the hours of labour and assimilating wages. And as the International Association affords the best facilities for bringing about that object, it is hereby resolved to co-operate with that association for the furtherance of all questions affecting the interests of labour; at the same time continuing the London Trades Council as a distinct and independent body as before."*

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Reform League inviting this Council to take part in the coming demonstration and requesting the appointment of delegates to attend the meeting at Newman Street on the 16th instant.

Lessner, Carter, Collet, and Shaw were appointed to attend.[98]

BLOCK-CUTTERS' DISPUTE

Citizen *Collet* stated that since the last meeting he had been trying to bring the block-cutters' dispute to an end. He had seen Mr. Huntington of Holloway who had written to Lancashire for the employers' statement of the case. The employers had refused to send their statement to Citizen Collet until they knew who he was and whom he represented. Citizen Collet then asked the Council to give him authority to write to these said employers for their statement of the case.

A resolution was submitted giving Citizen Collet the required authority. But, on the motion of *Shaw*, seconded by *Jung*, the subject was adjourned until the next meeting and in the meantime a deputation should be invited to attend from [the] Block-Cutters' Society.[99]

Shaw reported that he had waited upon the Organ-Builders' Society on the previous evening. He had re-

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

ceived the enrolment fee [of] 5s. and the form of application filled up.

Mr. Miall's bill was read demanding the rent of the office. It was proposed, seconded, and carried that £2 10s. be paid to Mr. Miall.

Jung said that Dupont had received a letter [from] Vienne stating that they had 300 members and they wanted their *carnets*.

Jung said he had received a letter from Mr. Applegarth inviting him to meet a gentleman* at his office, who was very favourable to the objects of our Association and who owned property at Lausanne.

POLISH DEMONSTRATION

Fox reported that the Standing Committee had agreed that four resolutions should be submitted to the meeting.

On the motion of Citizen *Eccarius*, seconded by *Carter*, Citizen Jung was appointed to take the chair at the Polish demonstration.[100]

A letter was read from Mr. Robert of Lea, Kent, expressing a desire to take part in the demonstration.

The letter was left with Fox to answer as he might think best.

The meeting then adjourned until Tuesday the 29th instant.**

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING****

January 29th

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* Reference is to Cowell Stepney.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 57-58 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary** then read several letters which he had received since the last meeting. One was from Miss Hosburgh in reply to a vote of thanks sent to her by the Council. Another was from the Coventry Weavers' Association with the annual subscription of £1 13s. 4d.,[101] and two were from the Lancashire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire Block-Printers' Union with the entrance fee of the society and annual subscription for 1,000 members.

It was then moved by Citizen *Jung* and seconded by Citizen *Lessner* that the L[ancashire], D[erbyshire], Y[orkshire], and C[heshire] Block-Printers' Union be accepted as an affiliated branch of this Association.

Citizen *Fox* then read several letters for Citizen Dupont. One was from the editor of the *Courrier Français* giving reasons for declining to publish the transactions of the Geneva Congress,** another was from Varlin of [the] Paris bookbinders. This letter Varlin wished to be read to the London bookbinders by some members of the Council. It also announced that Varlin had sent 18 francs to the Council.

It was then proposed and seconded that a deputation wait upon the bookbinders in order to deliver the statement of the Paris bookbinders and that the Secretary write to Mr. Bockett informing him of the same.

Jung, Dupont and *Van Rijen* agreed to attend.[102]

A letter was read from Liége in Belgium announcing the formation of a new branch of the Association.

A letter was read from Benière of Fleurieux-sur-Saône[103] and one from Fribourg of Paris.

A deputation from the Block-Cutters' Society being present, the question relating to the block-cutters which was adjourned at the last meeting was then introduced by the *President.*

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* Fox.—*Ed.*

** The words "giving reasons ... of the Geneva Congress" are in Fox's hand.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* stated his reasons for moving the adjournment of the question.

Citizen *Collet* said he had done nothing in the matter since the last meeting, and he thought he could do no good now as circumstances had taken place which had caused him to alter his opinion on the subject.

Mr. *Shettleworth* said he thought the Council might render some service by holding some communication with two men who had come from France to work for Mr. Huntington.

Jung, Dupont, and *Van Rijen* agreed to render their assistance, and the subject [was] then dropped.

The invitation of the Reform League to take part in the Reform demonstration was referred to the Standing Committee, and the meeting adjourned until February 5th, 1867.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

February 5th, 1867

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. *Reaveley* then introduced Mr. *Möller,* a member of the Coach-Trimmers' Society held at The Crown, Broad Street, Golden Square, who asked for information relative to the objects of the Association. He was supplied with a copy of the Rules, and a deputation was promised to attend upon his society on the first Tuesday in March next.[104]

Mr. *Reaveley* took up cards of membership for Lewis Smith, 36, South St., Manchester Square, and for Cor-

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 58-60 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

nelius Reddlington, 10, Adam St., Portman Sq., W., for which he paid 2s. 2d. He also returned 60 cards to the Secretary.

Mr. *Cowell Stepney* of Swindon Villa, Upper Norwood, Surrey, also took up a card of membership and paid one guinea.

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from the National Reform League held at the Eclectic Hall, Denmark Street, Soho, W., desiring to know on what terms that League could become affiliated to the Association.[105]

Fox was desired to give the required information.

A discussion then arose as to what date the subscriptions of societies in affiliation should become due.

It was then resolved that all societies should pay their contributions in advance to clear them up for 12 months from date of enrolment.

BLOCK-CUTTERS

Jung reported that he had waited upon the two French block-cutters who had gone to work for Mr. Huntington of Holloway, but he had arrived at no satisfactory conclusion as yet. He should see the men again.

Jung reported that he had waited upon the bookbinders at the Harpers Arms, Theobald's Road, but in consequence of their pressure of business he had not been able to read to them the letter from the Paris bookbinders. He had however left them a translation of it.

The Standing Committee recommended the Council to take part in the Reform demonstration by sending a deputation.

Fox, Lessner, Lafargue, Dupont, and Shaw were appointed to represent the Council, and Simonard, Collet, and Neemeier on behalf of the French branch.[106]

Jung read a letter asking for the general report from Card of Geneva.[107]

The Secretary was instructed to pay £3 to Mr. Leno on account of printing and £2 10s. to Mr. Miall for rent.

Mr. Cottam's bill for printing cards was referred to the Standing Committee. The Council authorised the Standing Committee to get the forms printed for obtaining statistical information to be laid before [the] Congress.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

February 12th

In consequence of the small attendance of councilmen the meeting was adjourned after the reading of the Minutes.

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING****

February 19th

In consequence of the non-attendance of councilmen the meeting was adjourned.

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING*****

*February 26th******

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.
Fox secretary for the night.

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* The Minutes break off here. The greater part of the page is blank.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on p. 61 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on p. 61 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 61-62 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

***** An error in the original: "February 19" instead of "February 26".—*Ed.*

The delegate* paid £1 7s. on behalf of the West End Cabinet-Makers, 5s. being for entrance fee and £1 2s. for annual subscription of 500 members.

*John*** *Cohn* then presented his credentials from the Cigar-Makers' Society and was accepted by the Council. He stated that his society numbered 700 men.

BELGIAN RIOTS AND MASSACRE

Citizen *Collet* read a letter from Vésinier appealing for aid for the widows and sufferers. He stated that a collection had been made by the French branch, but that that branch was waiting to see what action would be taken by the General Council in the matter.

The question of subscription was mooted but generally discountenanced.

Ultimately it was resolved to appeal to the miners and iron-workers of Britain, and Eccarius was ordered to draw up a circular for presentation to the Sub-Committee on Saturday next.[108]

REPORT FROM COACH-TRIMMERS AT THE GLOBE, NORTH AUDLEY ST., GROSVENOR SQUARE

Lessner reported that he had attended this body since the last meeting of the Council. The members had agreed to become affiliated to the Association.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM FRANCE

Citizen *Dupont* paid in a bill of exchange equal to 9s. 2½d. English money in payment of balance due from Fleurieux-sur-Saône. Dupont also read a letter from the

* The word "delegate" is inserted in another hand instead of the crossed-out words "Citizen Yarrow".—*Ed.*

** Should be: James.—*Ed.*

Paris commission announcing that all the delegates to the Geneva Congress had been re-elected and giving reasons for the commission as it now stood. The same letter also set forth the programme which the new commission had drawn up for the Congress at Lausanne.[109]

Fox announced that the *International Courier* and *Courrier International* had been temporarily suspended by their proprietor and editor (Collet) in consequence of his inability to find two sureties to the government. Collet had one, a Frenchman. He wanted a Briton for the second. Fox thought as the two journals were advocating the principles of the Council they should help Collet over the difficulty.

Collet stated that after 48 hours' delay the French Government had allowed the last number, containing the first part of the Congress report, to circulate in France.[110]

THE POLISH CELEBRATION OF JANUARY 22ND

Zabicki translated from the government organ at Warsaw a ludicrous report of the late demonstration in Cambridge Hall.

The Council then adjourned.

Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Collet, Yarrow, Zabicki, Lessner, Lafargue, Marx, Dupont, Carter, and Cohn were present.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

March 5th*

Citizen *Odger* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on p. 63 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** An error in the original: "March 4th" instead of "March 5th". —*Ed.*

A letter was read from Mr. Jackson of Kendal containing 20 postage stamps as the annual contribution of the shoemakers of that town.

A letter was also read from Mr. Butler, the Secretary of the Coventry Ribbon-Weavers' Association. The letter asked for the rate of wages paid in Basle and other parts of Switzerland as the asserted low price paid to the Swiss weavers was made the excuse for reducing the price paid to the ribbon-weavers of England.

Jung was then directed to write to Switzerland for the required information.

Jung then read a letter from Chaux-de-Fonds stating that four new branches of the Association had been formed. He also had a letter from Dupleix which he desired to bring before the Standing Committee. Jung also read two letters from Fribourg of Paris relating to the position of the bronze-workers of Paris on strike.[111] He stated that a deputation had waited upon the day working bookbinders who had given five pounds and lent ten pounds to [the] bronze-workers of Paris.[112] The Trades Council had also given credentials to the Association to enable them to appeal to the trades of London,[113] and *Jung, Marx, Lafargue, Dupont, Van Rijen, Collet, Zabicki, Lessner, Eccarius,* and *Carter* agreed to wait upon the various trades to solicit their aid.

The matter of the Belgian miners and iron-workers was then brought forward and postponed until Eccarius had produced the circular that he had written upon the subject.*

The Council then adjourned.**

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* See pp. 280-82 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING**

March 12th

Citizen Fox in the chair.

Councilmen present: Jung, Van Rijen, Dupont, Marx, Lafargue, Lessner, Carter, Hales, Maurice, and Shaw. Citizens Tolain, Fribourg, and several** other members of the Association were present.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed as read.

The following resolution from the Standing Committee was brought up and confirmed by the Council, viz.:

That we approve and endorse the political conduct of the Paris Administration and condemn the attacks made upon Dupont, Jung, Dupleix, and other members of the Association in the *Espiègle, L'Avenir de Genève,* and other journals.[114]

Dupont reported that Fribourg had cited Le Lubez before a meeting of the members of the French branch of the Association for the purpose of answering the attacks made by Le Lubez upon Fribourg and others. The meeting condemned the policy of Le Lubez by a majority of 22 out of 23 votes.[115]

On the suggestion of Citizen Fox the following resolution was agreed to unanimously:

That this Council acknowledges the value of the services rendered to it and to the interests of the Association throughout Europe by Citizen James Cope, a member of this Council, in providing, by his guarantee given to the British Government, for the continuance of the publications of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress in

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* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 64-65 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The word "several" is inserted in Fox's hand in place of the crossed-out word "three".—*Ed.*

the *International Courier* and *Courrier International*—two organs of this Association in England.*

COPIES OF THE *INTERNATIONAL COURIER* TO BE SENT TO SOCIETIES

It was moved and carried with one dissentient that copies of the *International Courier*, containing the two first parts of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress, be sent to the trade and other societies affiliated with us.

It was also referred to the Standing Committee to consider the propriety of circulating the same among trade unions not yet affiliated with us.

PARIS BRONZE-WORKERS' LOCK-OUT

Dupont reported that the members present at the last meeting of the French branch of the I. W. Association had guaranteed to supply £13 per month to the bronze-workers as long as the struggle lasted and had paid £6 10s. on account. The money would be supplied as a loan and when returned would be formed into a fund to meet future cases that might be brought before the branch.

Lessner and *Maurice* reported that the French polishers' meeting at the Three Tuns, Oxford Street, would decide what support they would give to the bronze-workers on Tuesday next the 19th instant. They would also appoint a delegate to the Council in place of Citizen Whitehead.

Carter reported that he had waited upon the Amalgamated Carpenters. They would decide what they would do in the course of a few days.

* The latter part of the sentence beginning with the words "two organs" is written in Fox's hand between the lines.—*Ed.*

Jung reported that he and others had waited upon the Council of the Engineers. He expected to hear what the Council would do, daily.

He also stated that he had written to many other societies and waited upon some, and that the curriers' meeting at the Black Jack, Portsmouth Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, would hold a quarterly meeting on Thursday, May 2nd, at 8 o'clock, at which a deputation from the Council should attend.[116]

Arrangements for attending other societies on behalf of the bronze-workers were made, and several councilmen promised to attend.

THE DAY WORKING BOOKBINDERS' SOCIETY

Secretary *Bockett* paid 17s. 6d. as annual contribution for 420 members of the above society. And said he would have the letter from the members of his society to the bookbinders of Paris ready in a few days and would forward it to the Council for translation and conveyance to Paris.

Citizen *Lessner* paid £1 7s. 9d. on behalf of the German-Swiss section of the I. W. Association.[117]

The Secretary was instructed to purchase an address book for the purpose of inserting herein the names, addresses, and money accounts of the societies affiliated with us.*

The following letter was handed in by Citizen Zabicki and read by the *President.*

* The latter part of the sentence beginning with the words "for the purpose" is written in Fox's hand between the lines.—*Ed.*

March 12th, 1867

THE CENTRAL LONDON SECTION OF THE UNITED POLISH EXILES TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL [WORKING] MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Citizens,

We are instructed to communicate to you that the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles, at their sitting on the 10th of February, passed unanimously a vote of thanks to the General Council of the International [Working] Men's Association for the generous and effectual co-operation in the arrangements of the social tea-party and public meeting held at the Cambridge Hall in commemoration of the January anniversary of the last insurrection, expressing, more especially, their warmest gratitude to the Chairman, Mr. Jung, Mr. P. Fox, Dr. Marx, Mr. Eccarius, and the other speakers, for their noble, warm, and able defence of the Polish cause, before the assembled public.

LOUIS OBORSKI, Colonel, *President*
JOHN KRYNSKI, *Secretary*

The meeting was then adjourned to the 19th instant.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

March 19th

Citizen *Lessner* in the chair.

Citizen *Fox* acted as Secretary.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed with the amendments that Fox was ordered to make.

BRONZE-WORKERS

Citizen *Jung* reported that the boot-makers of Fetter Lane had voted £5. The E.C. had only the power to vote £10.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 66-67 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

TIN PLATE-WORKERS, BLACK JACK

Jung stated that the committee had no power to vote money; it must be voted by a quarterly meeting of the members which would take place on the 10th of April. He also stated that the society would very likely join us if we send a deputation to their meeting as above stated.[118]

COACH-TRIMMERS, THE GLOBE, NORTH AUDLEY ST.

Lessner and *Hales* reported that the above society could vote money without a special meeting. They would [pay] their entrance fee to this Association in about a month.

SWISS NEWS

Jung read an extract [from] the *Association Internationale** relating to our Association.

REPORT FROM STANDING COMMITTEE

Fox brought up a report recommending that Maurice be paid henceforth 1s. 6d. per week for the use of his room for the meetings of the Standing Committee. Carried.

The Swiss section having demanded that the programme of the Lausanne Congress be drawn up and published forthwith, the Standing Committee thought it best not to comply with that demand, but, instead thereof, to refer for study, as the only urgent and special question of the moment, "The Means of Making Credit Available for the Working Classes". This recommendation was unanimously confirmed by the Council.[119]

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* Reference is to *La Voix de l'Avenir*. See p. 34 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

CIRCULATION OF THE REPORT OF THE GENEVA CONGRESS

Fox stated that two quires of [the] *I.C.** would be wanted to supply English societies and American correspondents and 2½ quires of [the] *C.I.*** for Continental correspondents. He thought it would take seven numbers without the French essay.[120] *Fox* moved and *Carter* seconded:

That two quires of the *I.C.* and 2½ of [the] *C.I.* be ordered weekly until the report is concluded. Carried *nem. con.*

Collet said he would send 200 [copies] of the *Working Man* to trades societies if he had the addresses.[121]

Cohn said that the cigar-makers were spreading all over England. The Liverpool Cigar-Makers' Society of 300 members had several branches in the North (they were unconnected with London), and he advised the Council to communicate with them as they would see through the exchange of balance-sheets that the London society belonged to us.

Odger said he was going to Manchester and he would see what he could do for the bronze-workers with the Trades Council[122] there; he however should want credentials.

The meeting then adjourned.***

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING*****

March 26th

The Secretary absent.

Eccarius took the chair and the Minutes.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Paris. Mr. Barbedienne

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* *International Courier.—Ed.*

** *Courrier International.—Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

**** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 67-68 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

is going to arrange a log with his work-people; other employers are following his example.[123] The Geneva section of the I.W.A. have agreed to a weekly levy. In Paris the masters discharge men for supporting the lock-out.* (Two days later.) Some employers have agreed to a log with their men. The masters are holding a conference respecting a log. There will be a general meeting next Sunday.

DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Jung* received £5 from the shoemakers ([for the] bronze-workers) accompanied with a very sympathising letter. He had been to the hatters (Gravel Lane) alone. The society does not acknowledge one person as a deputation. It requires a statement first and deputation afterwards. The iron-founders express great sympathy. Cannot assist as they are in great difficulties. The West End cabinet-makers have lent £20.

It was resolved to renew the application to the shoemakers.

The meeting then adjourned.**

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING****

April 2nd

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read by *Fox* and *Eccarius* and confirmed.

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* References to the bronze-workers' strike.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 68-69 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

BRONZE-WORKERS

Jung reported that he had waited upon the hatters at Gravel Lane on last Friday. They would state what they would do on next Friday week. He also stated that he had waited upon the curriers and tin plate-workers but should wait upon them again. The engineers had not done anything, because they had not received any of their loans yet. The bricklayers' money had not yet arrived at Paris.

Dupont stated *La Voix de l'Avenir* contained an article on the bronze-workers' lock-out.[124]

Carter called attention to the engine-drivers' strike and said we had fallen short of our mission in that case.

Dupont said he had waited upon the committee at 31, Bridge Street, Strand, as soon as he heard of the affair and communicated with the Continent that same day*[125]; some sharp discussion followed, and Jung and Dupont were appointed to do what they could with the engine-drivers' committee to forward the objects of this Association.

Several demands for the payment of debts were then read by the *Secretary*.

It was then moved by *Fox* and seconded by *Yarrow* that £1 3s. 7d. be paid to Citizen Collet for *Courriers* supplied to the Council.** Carried *nem. con.*

It was also moved by *Fox* and seconded by *Jung* that £1 10s. be paid to Mr. Leno on account of printing. Carried *nem. con.*

The payment of the advertisement in the *Commonwealth* was postponed on the motion of Citizen Jung.

The meeting then adjourned.***

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* The words "communicated with the Continent that same day" have been inserted in Fox's hand in place of the crossed-out words "offered to do what he could in the matter".—*Ed.*

** See p. 105 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING**

April 9th

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Secretary was absent, and no Minutes of the previous meeting could be read.

Fox was appointed minute-taker for the evening.

Fox brought up a resolution from the Standing Committee to the effect that a balance-sheet be made out and the accounts be audited.

Agreed to *nem. con.*

Hales asked for a report of the Congress for his society, and *Cohn* requested that copies of the *Courier* containing a translation of the Parisian *Mémoire*[126] be furnished to his society.

It was ordered that a note of these requests be made in the Minutes.

Hales thought that the *Courier* should be pushed amongst the affiliated societies.

After a short discussion the subject was adjourned until next week, and *Fox* undertook [to] ask Collet to attend.

George Druitt was nominated as a member of the Council. 2*s*. 2d. was paid to Fox as subscription from Lawrence and Druitt.

A *delegate* from the Coach-Trimmers' Society held at The Globe, North Audley Street, Grosvenor Square, paid £5 entrance fee for his society to join the Association.

Dupont read a letter from Fribourg (Paris) stating that the French trades had advanced something like £4,000 to the bronze-workers. It stated that the lock-out was at an end, but that 17 of the most active members had been excluded from the shops.

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* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 69-71 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Chairman* then reported that the cigar-makers had voted £5 which had been sent to Paris. Also that bricklayers' money had not yet arrived in Paris. He then asked: now [that] the lock-out was at an end, could he canvass trades societies for money?

Cohn and *Hales* replied that so long as 17 men were locked out, the lock-out could not be at an end, and *Jung* declared himself satisfied by this response from two representatives of [the] English trades unions.

Citizen *Cohn* stated that the cigar trade was very slack. It would be worse; before it was better. One-seventh of their men was out of work. Still Belgians, Dutch, and Hamburgers were coming over here and suffering greatly. They were working at very low prices having no other alternative but to starve. He said a very skilful Hollander was working for 1s. 9d. per hundred while he, Cohn, was getting 3s. 6d. per hundred for the same kind of work. He requested the Dutch, Belgian, and German secretaries to inform their countrymen of the sad state of things, and when there were not more than 25 men out [of work] belonging to the society, the Continentals might come, and welcome.

It was ordered that the above matter be attended to at once.[127]

Fox then proposed William Hales as a member of the Council.

Dupont and Jung were appointed to wait upon the tin plate-workers, Black Jack.

Cohn and Jung were appointed to wait upon the Hatters' Committee.

The meeting then adjourned.

Members present: Maurice, Fox, Cohn, Hales, Bobczynski, Zabicki, Buckley, Jung, and Dupont.*

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING**

April 16th

Members present: Jung, Maurice, Lessner, Hales, Lafargue, Dupont, Collet, Fox, Shaw, and Cohn.

Fox read the Minutes of the previous meeting and they were confirmed.

Fox proposed and *Maurice* seconded William Hales as [a] member of the Council. Carried.

Maurice proposed and *Dupont* seconded George Druitt, President of the London Tailors' Society, as a member of the Council. Carried.

A letter was read from the Reform League requesting a delegate to attend at the Sussex Hotel on the 17th instant to receive a memorial tablet in commemoration of the Reform demonstration of February 11th, 1867. Citizen Collet was appointed to receive the tablet on behalf of the Council.

Fox read a letter from Mrs. Harriet Law on the subject of "Women's Rights" and expressed his opinion that perhaps Mrs. Law would go to the Congress at Lausanne if solicited. By mutual consent Fox undertook to write to Mrs. Law asking her if she would be willing to attend the Council meetings if invited.

Dupont read a letter from Paris. It expressed regret that the tailors' deputation from London to Paris had not been introduced to the Paris tailors by the Paris Administration of our Association.[128]

Maurice stated that the London Tailors' Executive had no time to consult us previous to sending their deputation to Paris, and moved that a deputation be sent to the tailors' meeting at the Alhambra Palace on Monday the 22nd.[129] This motion was seconded by Citizen *Cohn* and

* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 71-72 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Dupont*, and Collet and Jung* were appointed as the delegates to attend.

Jung reported his attendance on the tin plate-workers, Black Jack, and the hatters, Prince and Princess, Gravel Lane. The hatters had lent £10 to the bronze-workers of Paris. They required a written statement of our objects to send round to their shops before they could do anything towards becoming affiliated to our Association.

The payment of secretary for the labours of the office was adjourned to the next meeting by common consent.

Lafargue (on behalf of Marx) said that the resolution moved by Odger at one of the Reform meetings conferring a vote [of] thanks upon Count Bismarck was calculated to injure the credit of this Association.[130] He therefore demanded that** a vote of censure should be passed upon Odger.***

A discussion ensued which ended in instructing the Secretary to write to Odger requesting his attendance at the next meeting.

COURRIER INTERNATIONAL AND *INTERNATIONAL COURIER*

It was proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously[131]:

"That this Council recommends the *International Courier* to the various affiliated societies as the best representative organ of the principles of the Association and that this recommendation be communicated in all correspondences."***

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* The words "and Jung" are written in Fox's hand between the lines.—*Ed.*

** Further the Minute Book has the word "resignation", which, judging by the context, should be crossed out.—*Ed.*

*** Then follow the crossed-out words "as the President of this Council".—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING**

April 23rd

Members present: Citizens Jung, Maurice, Fox, Collet, Lessner, Dupont, Lafargue, Zabicki, Dell, Carter, Eccarius, Shaw, and Buckley.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from John Sutcliffe of the Block-Printers' Union. It stated that they had 90 men on strike against the introduction of the cheap labour of women and asked for pecuniary assistance as their trade was very much depressed and they were unable to meet their outlay.

Citizen *Dell* moved and *Lessner* seconded:

That the Secretary write for a statement of facts, and point out the mode of application which is generally made to the Trades Council of London for pecuniary assistance. Carried.

Citizen *Collet* reported that a Continental subscriber to the *Courrier International* had written to him requesting information about the Association with a view of joining and opening a branch.

THE TAILORS' MEETING

Citizen *Collet* reported that himself and Jung attended the tailors' meeting at the Alhambra Palace. Jung was introduced as the President of the late Congress of Geneva and was received with immense applause. He pointed out to the meeting that if the I.W.A. could, last year, prevent the tailors of Paris from supplanting the men of London, it could do the same thing with the men of Belgium

* The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 73-75 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

and Germany this year. Consequently the master tailors would only be wasting money by sending to those countries for men. Collet also addressed the meeting, and *Eccarius* said that Collet's speech had made him a most popular man amongst the tailors of London.

It was then moved by *Maurice* and seconded by *Collet:*

That the Council make a special point of sending deputations to all trade meetings possible. Carried.

ENGINE-DRIVERS AND FIREMEN

Jung reported that with Dupont he had had an interview with [the] Engine-Drivers' Secretary respecting this Association. He was to wait upon the Executive as soon as he received a letter from the Secretary.

Citizen *Eccarius* then took the chair. And Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Lafargue* seconded that the Secretary be paid for his office. Carried.

Jung then suggested that a special fund be created by voluntary contributions for the purpose of paying the Secretary, and the following members subscribed at once, viz.:

Lafargue—1s.	Collet—1s.
Maurice—2s.	Carter—6d.
Dupont—2s.	Dell—1s.
Jung—3s.	

making a sum total of 10s. 6d.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Lessner* and seconded by Citizen *Fox* that the Secretary be paid 10s. per week. Carried.

Lafargue then introduced the subject of Odger proposing the vote of thanks to Count Bismarck at a Reform meeting; after some discussion in which several members took part, the following resolution, proposed by Citizen

Lessner and seconded by Citizen *Lafargue*, was carried unanimously.

Resolved, "That inasmuch as Citizen Odger has proposed a resolution at the Council of the Reform League thanking Mr. Bismarck for what he had done for the democratic cause in Germany; and inasmuch as Citizen Odger is President of the International Working Men's Association, the General Council feels it to be its duty to repudiate any solidarity with the said resolution and with Citizen Odger's speech in support thereof."[132]

Mr. *Möller* stated that the Coach-Trimmers' Society, meeting at The Crown, Broad Street, Golden Square, had decided to become affiliated to this Association. He paid over 10s. on behalf of the society.

Fox then gave notice that on next meeting-night he would move that deputations be appointed to wait upon the Postmaster-General on international postage.

The meeting then adjourned.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

April 30th

Members present: Citizens Eccarius, Lessner, Jung, Fox, Lafargue, Hales, Collet, Maurice, Carter, Dell, Buckley, and Shaw.

Citizen *Eccarius* took the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and after being amended were confirmed.

The *Secretary**** read a letter from the Curriers' Society anent their quarterly meeting. He was ordered to answer the said letter and express regret that it had come to hand too late for the Council to attend.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 75-78 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Fox.—*Ed.*

A letter was read from the *Commonwealth* office asking for the payment of the account due for advertisement.

It was then proposed, seconded, and carried that £1 be paid on account of advertisement in the *Commonwealth.*

It was also proposed, seconded, and carried that Citizen Collet be paid 11s. 3d., the balance due for the printing of the French *carnets.*[133]

The *Secretary* stated that since the last meeting he had written to the Hatters' Society, to Mr. John Kane of 21, Hood Street, Gateshead, Durham, [to] the Secretary of the Northern Iron-Workers' Association and to Mr. Woodhatch, the Secretary of the Liverpool Cigar-Makers, 66, Copperas Hill, Liverpool, asking them to use their influence to cause their societies to join the Association. He also stated that he had written to Mr. John Sutcliffe, the Secretary of the Block-Printers, as directed at the previous meeting.

Carter drew the attention of the Council to the fact that [he] himself and Jung had not yet received the £1 due to each of them on account of their expenses to the Geneva Congress.

It was proposed by Citizen *Dell* and seconded by Citizen *Collet* that the claim of Carter and Jung be the next that is paid.

Jung read from the April *Bulletin of the Lausanne Section*[134] a paragraph which stated that very few sections had paid their 3d. contribution towards the expenses of the General Council, and in consequence of this default the General Council had been impeded in its task of bringing out the report of the Geneva Congress.

Jung also read a letter from Besson, the Belgian Secretary, which also had a letter enclosed from Vésinier.

Citizen *Eccarius* read the programme of the working men's party of Germany from the *Vorbote*[135] which was as follows:

"The working men's party adheres to the maxim that the oppressed of all European countries without distinction of creed, state or race are by their interest bound to unite and render each other mutual assistance."

Citizen *Fox* drew the attention of the Council to the *American,* a new democratic journal which had just reached its 5th number.[136]

In answer to a question about the rent of the office, Citizen *Collet* made an offer of a room at his place of business at about £6 per year.

Fox moved that the subject be referred to the Sub-Committee, which was agreed to accordingly.

Citizen *Collet* read the following letter which he had written.*

TO EDMOND BEALES, ESQ., M. A., PRESIDENT OF THE REFORM LEAGUE

Sir,

I am sorry, I was not in time at the last delegate meeting to hear your statement about the measures the Executive Committee of the League had adopted to carry out Mr. Cremer's motion, as they had been requested to do on the previous Wednesday.

I find from the "organ of the Reform movement", the *Commonwealth,* that you stated that "the Council of the League, voting upon the resolution of last week, had decided upon holding not a promenade, as it first intended, but a *bona fide* meeting in Hyde Park on the 6th of May next", and that, "if any riot or disturbance ensued, the blame must rest on the Government". I find it also stated that Mr. Bradlaugh said that "the League had not only called the meeting in Hyde Park, but meant to hold it there, come what might. On this occasion they would not only demand admittance to the Park, but enforce that admittance if required".

I hope, Sir, you will allow me to make a few remarks on this important subject.

I hold that the people have a right to meet in the Park, but I hold also that before such a serious issue as a defiance to the authorities is raised, men should be prepared to act as men and not as bombastic children.

* Here a page of the printer's proofs of Collet's letter in *The Working Man* No. 6, May 4, 1867, is pasted into the Minute Book. —*Ed.*

When I proposed some time ago a promenade in Hyde Park on Good Friday I felt convinced that the Government would not, and could not, prevent the people from going into the Park individually and would not even interfere, if, once there, the people held a meeting.

Some of my friends have tested the question and it has been proved that I was right.

Now I believe that when the delegates voted for Mr. Cremer's motion on the 17th inst. their impression was that the same course should be adopted.

From what I have quoted above, from the *Commonwealth*, it would appear that you, with the Executive, are determined to call forth a demonstration similar to that of July last and that if the authorities adopt the same course they did then, either an appeal to force must be the result, or Reformers would have once more to retire. I believe that it would be, not only unpolitic, but criminal to bring the question to such an issue as this, and I will give you my reasons:

If the people of this country are really prepared to join issue with the Government, then they have something better to do than to fight their fellow-men of the army and the police about the question of admittance into the Park.

However important the question of the right of meeting may be, if to settle it force must be resorted to and blood spilt, then the people must be prepared either to submit or to destroy the present political fabric.

I think they are not yet ripe for such an issue, and therefore I say that it would be unwise and criminal to necessarily produce violence and bloodshed, to no practical purpose.

Suppose that the Reformers were even to force their way into the Park, what then? Do you think that the Government would stop there?

What if they bring armed force against you? Are you prepared to meet them?

What if Parliament were to pass a bill forbidding meetings in the parks, would you then turn Parliament out?

I conclude by urging upon you to use your influence upon your colleagues of the Council to reconsider a decision, which I do not think they were empowered to take, by the delegates, and simply to invite the Reformers of London to go individually to the Park, avoiding anything that might have the appearance of a defiance, which they are not prepared to support effectively.

When the time comes, if unfortunately it ever should come, that force must be used, I hope the people of this country will be

wise enough to discriminate between those who really are their enemies and those of their own ranks and blood whose interests are the same as theirs, although they may for a time be in the ranks of the army or of the police.

It is not against men obliged then to earn their livelihood that the working men ought [to] turn their wrath. I hope they will have more sense than to do that, and that they will strike the evil at the root.

I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

*JOSEPH COLLET**

A long discourse ensued upon it without any opposite opinions being expressed.

Frederick Card, on the motion of *Shaw*, seconded by *Dell*, was nominated as a member of the Council.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Fox* and seconded by Citizen *Lessner:*

That the Secretary write to the Postmaster-General and ask him to receive a deputation from the Council on the subject of international postage. Carried.

The meeting then adjourned.**

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING****

May 7th

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

Members present: Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Dupont, Bobczynski, Yarrow, Cohn, Reaveley, Dell, Odger, and Shaw.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed as read.

Frederick Card was elected a member of the Council on the nomination of Citizens *Shaw* and *Dell.*

The *Secretary* stated that since the last meeting he had

* The newspaper text ends here.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 78-81 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

written to brass finishers at the Cheshire Cheese, Mount Pleasant, Clerkenwell, to receive a deputation from the Council. He had also sent them a copy of the following letter to the Postmaster-General.

International Working Men's Association

Central Council Rooms, 18, Bouverie Street, E. C. May 3rd, 1867

My Lord,

I am directed to respectfully request your Lordship to be good enough to receive a deputation on the subject of international postage from the Central Council of the above Association.

The Council would take it as an additional favour if your Lordship would appoint a day as near the middle of the present month as possible for the above purpose.

I am, My Lord, very obediently

R. SHAW, Secretary[137]

He had also written to five branches of the Amalgamated Bakers' Union enclosing [the] Rules and Address and solicited them to become affiliated to our Association. He drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the Bakers' Executive met at the Working Men's Hall, Harp Alley, Farringdon Street, every Tuesday night and he was instructed to communicate with that body.[138]

Jung said he had received a letter from Basle containing the prices of silk-weaving, as requested by the Coventry silk-weavers, of which the following is the translation:

In accordance with your desire I hereby send you a summary of the wages paid in the factories. For the so-called weft 17 centimes are paid for 100 threads; a day's wages is 1 fr. 3 centimes. The average wages used to be 1 fr. 8 centimes per day. Piece work. Nos. 29 to 46=10 reeds, 300 to 320 shuttles per inch, 24 francs and 73 centimes a piece. Nos. 29 to 46=8 reeds, 200 shuttles per inch, 18 francs and 50 centimes a piece. Nos. 21 to 40=8 reeds, 7 times (something incomprehensible to the translator) 21 francs a piece.

Nos. 14 to 36=10 reeds, double shuttle, 200 picks per inch, 17 francs and 25 centimes a piece—a piece is equal to 120 staves. With 13 hours' work a day, at the very utmost, only 2 staves can be made in a day, and the wages never exceed 10 fr. a week, it is indeed more frequent that a fortnight's hard work only amounts to 15 fr. Not only reduced prices, but bad silk has contributed to bring about this deplorable state of things.

Formerly 20 centimes were paid per 100 threads; and with good silk 25 fr. could be earned in a fortnight; now the earnings are commonly from 8 to 10 fr.—on rare occasions 12 fr.

The Secretary was ordered to send a copy of this translation to Coventry.

Citizen *Jung* also read a letter from Geneva which stated that a new Council had been appointed there and the names of Dupleix [and] Card were absent from the list of councilmen. He also read a letter from Chaux-de-Fonds requesting that the following subject should be put on the programme of the next congress, viz., "Slackness of Trade. Its Causes and Remedies".[139]

Jung read (on behalf [of] Dupont) a letter from Lyons. The said letter requested the Council to forward the address of the Lyonnese to the German working men through the German newspapers; the subject of the address was threatened war in Germany, and it was ordered to be sent to Citizen Marx through Lessner.[140]

A letter was read from Brussels stating that the chiefs of the firms in the tailoring trade had signed a tariff agreeable to the men and that on the 21st of April large meetings of tailors, cabinet-makers, marble-polishers, and dyers had been held on the wages question.[141]

A letter was read from Chemalé of Paris stating that the tailors had gone to work at an advance of 10 per cent instead of the 20 per cent for which they struck. The 10 per cent was accepted by a small minority in the first place, and the Government withheld their authority for the holding of a meeting of the trade. Consequently the strike committee had resigned and given up the contest.[142]

This letter stated that the Paris Administration had spent £7 in propagandism and that was the reason why they had not sent their 3d. contribution to the General Council. It also suggested that a certain number of delegates from various sections should assemble five days before the opening of [the] Congress for the purpose of arranging matters so as to save the time of the delegates when assembled in congress. The letter stated that a new branch had opened at Amiens, that the rope-makers of Paris had been on strike six weeks, and that the turners' branch of the bronze-makers' trade was not yet settled. The bookbinders of Paris were desirous of fraternising with the bookbinders of London if any of them went over to the exhibition.

The *President* (Odger) then drew attention to the vote of the Council in reference to the resolution moved by him at a meeting of the Reform League and, having stated that the resolution was meant simply to thank Count Bismarck for giving the vote to the people of Germany and not involving his general policy, the Council expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with this explanation; and, on the motion of *Shaw*, seconded by *Yarrow*, it was agreed that the explanation should be sent to the *International Courier* for publication.

The Council then adjourned.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

May 14th

Members present: Odger, Fox, Eccarius, Jung, Yarrow, Dupont, Dell, and Shaw.

Citizen *Odger* in the chair.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 81-83 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from the West End Ladies' Shoemakers' Society requesting the payment of the £10 loan. The Secretary was instructed to answer the letter.

A letter was read from the Block-Printers' Secretary complaining at the Council for not having raised them money to support their strike. The Secretary was ordered to answer the letter.

A letter was read from the Postmaster-General declining to receive a deputation from the Council on the subject of international postage, but at the same time he would be happy to consider any written statement that might be sent to him.

Fox undertook to write a statement on the subject at his earliest convenience.

A letter was read from Mr. Applegarth stating that he had assisted to form a branch of our Association at Lynn in Norfolk. He requested the Council to communicate with the secretary of the branch.

The Secretary was instructed to thank Applegarth for his services and open up correspondence with [the] branch at Lynn.

The *President* gave in the name of G. B. Stewart, of 89, Irish Street, Dumfries, as a man who would open a branch of the Association in that part of Britain.

The *Secretary* said that he had written the letters as directed at the last meeting; he had also written letters and sent reports of the Congress to Professor Beesly, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Walton, the Executive of the Bakers' Union, and the affiliated societies.

Jung then moved and *Dupont* seconded:

That the reporter of the *Commonwealth* be admitted to report the proceedings of the Council. Carried unanimously.

Jung on behalf of Dupont read a letter from our

correspondent at Bordeaux, stating that he had money to transmit to London and inquiring what were the best means of transmitting it. In the name of his section he thanked the working men of London for what they had done for the bronze-workers and tailors of Paris. He also read a letter from Citizen Vasseur of Marseilles. He wrote in the name of a number of working men of Marseilles and its suburbs, who desired to form a branch there.

The matter was left in Dupont's hands.[143]

Jung read several paragraphs from the *Tribune du Peuple* relating to workmen's associations in Belgium and the part that our Association was taking there.[144] He also reported his attendance upon the brass finishers, but did not get a hearing.

On the question of removing the sittings of the Council, it was proposed by *Eccarius* and seconded by *Fox*:

That the sittings of the Council be not removed and that the use of the office be offered to the London Trades Council at ls. per week; carried.

Henry Dodd, of 26, Caroline Street, Camden Town, N. W., took up a card of membership and paid 1s. 2d.

The Council then adjourned.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

May 21st

Members present: Eccarius, Lessner, Carter, Jung, Hales, Dell, Coulson, Odger, Buckley, and Shaw.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read and confirmed.

Letters were read from Professor Beesly and Mr. F. Har-

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 83-84 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

rison thanking the Council for forwarding to them the report of the Geneva Congress.

Jung read a letter from Paris which stated that a branch of the Association had been established at Algiers.[145] It also stated that if any societies were going to the exhibition, word should be sent to that effect so as to enable the Parisians to give them a right hearty welcome. The letter again mentioned the necessity of sending delegates and essays to Lausanne not later than the 26th of August. Jung read a letter from Locle which contained a remittance of 17s. 6d. for 73 members and requested that the subject of phonography should be placed upon the programme for discussion at the next congress.[146]

Odger then gave notice that at the next meeting he should move that a series [of] meetings be held for the purpose of discussing labour questions; the meeting then adjourned.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

May 28th

Members present: Odger, Eccarius, Lessner, Dupont, Jung, Dell, W. and J. Hales, Shaw, Buckley, Card, Maurice, and Yarrow.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Mr. Walton of Brecon thanking the Council for sending him a report of the Congress of Geneva, and a letter was read from John Kane, Secretary to the National Amalgamated Association of Malleable Iron-Workers, stating that he had inserted the letter of

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 84-86 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the Secretary in their monthly circular with suitable comments of his own, and that he would send a copy to the Council and in the meantime he would join the Association individually.

Citizen *Maurice* brought a letter from the London Tailors' Executive Committee which solicited the Council to use their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining money for the tailors from the Continent of Europe and America.[147]

Jung said that Dupont had spoken about the matter some [time] ago and thought such action should be taken, but he (Jung) had declined to take any steps in the matter, because he thought that the tailors seemed desirous of doing their own work, but now they had applied to the Council, he would move "That the secretaries for the Continent and America write to their correspondents for monetary aid for the London tailors".

Dupont seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

Jung on behalf of Dupont read a letter from Algiers stating [that a] branch had been formed [there].

He also read a letter from Fuveau near Marseilles stating that there were 300 members in the branch there and that they expected 500 shortly.

Jung at the request of Dupont again drew the attention of the Council to the points urged in Chemalé's letter which was read last week, viz., the advisability of sending delegates and essays to Lausanne five days before the assembling of [the] Congress; the said delegates to prepare the programme for the Congress.

In referring to the first article of the Bye-Laws agreed to at the last Congress,[148] it was found that the production of the Congressional programme was left entirely with [the] General Council and, after some discussion, it was agreed on the motion [of] Citizen J. *Hales:*

That a committee of three draw [up] an appeal to the

societies in and out of affiliation inviting them to take part in the coming Congress, and also that the said committee draw up the programme for the Congress.

The appointment of the committee was postponed until the next meeting.

The next point that was urged by *Jung* was that the societies affiliated to the Association should be informed of Chemalé's desire, viz., that any societies or members thereof who were about to visit the French exhibition should send word to the Paris Administration so as to enable them to give the Britons a right hearty welcome on their arrival. On this subject, a general instruction was given to the Secretary to mention the matter in his correspondence.

President *Odger* then stated that, at a meeting of the London Trades Council held on Friday evening last, it was agreed that [a] series of meetings should be held in London for the purpose of debating Labour questions, and he invited the assistance of the Council to carry out that object. It was proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously that Citizens Jung and J. Hales co-operate with President Odger and Mr. Edgar of the Trades Council for the purpose of arranging the said meetings.[149]

The Council then adjourned.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING****

June 4th

Citizen *Jung* was voted to the chair.

Members present: Dupont, Lessner, Cohn, Fox, Zabicki, J. and W. Hales, Dell, Carter, Card, Buckley, Morgan, Eccarius, Maurice, and Shaw.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 86-88 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Miall's bill of £3 6s. for rent and use of fixtures was read and payment postponed until the next meeting.

On the motion of Mr. *Dell*, Citizen Carter was paid £1, the balance of the expenses incurred by him on going to the Congress of Geneva.

A letter was read from the Peace Society,[150] 19, New Broad Street, City, which had been addressed to the President. It suggested the propriety of British working men adopting addresses expressing sympathy with the French and German working men.

After some discussion, on the motion of Citizen *Cohn*, seconded by Citizen *Dell*, it was resolved "That the receipt of the Reverend Henry Richard's communication be kindly acknowledged and that we ask for further information concerning the principles of the Peace Society with a view to co-operate with them for the furtherance of the cause of international peace".

Dupont read a letter from our correspondent near Bordeaux which stated that their section had money in hand.

Jung read several paragraphs from the French-Swiss organ of our Association relating to political affairs that had taken place in London.[151] This journal expresses a desire that the General Council would now do some active work.

THE TAILORS' STRIKE

Eccarius wished to know who was to pay for the correspondence to Germany on behalf of the tailors.

After some discussion, on the motion of Citizen *Carter*, seconded by Citizen *Dell*, it was resolved that all postage, etc., shall be paid by the General Council when writing to Continental branches for aid to any of our affiliated societies who may be on strike or lock-out.

It was then moved by Citizen *Eccarius* and seconded by Citizen *Carter* that the sum of three shillings be voted to pay the postage of six letters to the North of Germany on behalf of the tailors.

It was also agreed that 1s. be voted to pay for a letter to Citizen Sylvis of Philadelphia on the same subject.

In reply to Citizen *Maurice, Dupont* said he had appealed to [the] Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Algiers sections on behalf of the London tailors.

Jung said he had appealed to the French-Swiss sections through the French-Swiss organ of our Association, and also to Becker on behalf of the German sections.[152]

Fox had done nothing because he had received no intimation on the subject, and the *Secretary* said that the reason Fox had not been acquainted with the matter was the want of his (Fox's) address.[153]

On the question of appointing a committee to draw up an appeal to societies and the programme for the Congress, it was unanimously agreed that Citizens Fox, Marx, Jung, Eccarius, and Dupont should undertake that duty.[154]

The meeting then adjourned.*

*GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING***

June 18th, 1867

Members present: Eccarius, Lessner, Dupont, J. Hales, Fox, Jung, Dell, Odger, Shaw, Card, and Buckley.

The Minutes of the meeting of June 4th were read and confirmed.

Eccarius stated that he had not received any reply to his correspondence on behalf of the London tailors but

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 88-89 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

that there was a statement in the *Hermann* to the effect that something was being done on the matter in Germany.[155]

Fox stated that he had written to America on the same subject.

Citizen Keller was elected a member of the Council to represent the French branch in place of Citizen Collet who had resigned. Keller paid 4s. 9d. as the 3d. contribution for 19 members and Mr. Dell paid one shilling for John Graham.

Citizen *Fox* proposed and *Lessner* seconded that Mrs. Harriet Law become a member of the Council.

Jung read some portions of the French-Swiss organ showing that the Association was making much progress in Switzerland.[156]

On the motion of Citizens *Dell* and *Jung* it was agreed:

That the Council requests the committee to produce the programme of the Congress on Tuesday next.

It was proposed by *Jung* and seconded by *Lessner:*

That a deputation wait upon the engineers on Thursday next. Carried.

On the motion of *Shaw* and *Fox,* Odger, Jung, and Dupont were elected to wait upon the engineers.[157]

Fox proposed the following resolutions which were seconded by Citizen *Dell* and agreed *nem. con.**

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

At the ordinary meeting of the General Council on Tuesday evening, after the usual routine business was concluded, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1st. "That the General Council of the International

* Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth* No. 224, June 22, 1867, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Working Men's Association thanks the working men, students, and barristers, who took part in the recent demonstrations in Paris in favour of Poland, for having reminded the Czar of Muscovy that the domination of an Asiatic and barbarous Power over that portion of Europe called Poles, and that portion of the soil of Europe called Poland, is revolting to justice and common sense."[158]

2nd. "That Maître Floquet, having been blamed by many toadying or ignorant persons for his spirited and truly cosmopolitan conduct towards the Czar in the Palais de Justice, we hereby declare our approbation of that conduct, and thank the *Conseil de l'ordre des Avocats* for their refusal to censure Maître Floquet."

3rd. "That the General Council hereby congratulates the British nation and Government on the good fortune of having been deemed unworthy of closer acquaintance by the Czar of Muscovy."*

The Continental secretaries were instructed to publish the above resolutions.[159]

The Council then adjourned.**

*COUNCIL MEETING****

June 25th

Members present: Eccarius, Fox, Lessner, Keller, Dupont, Jung, Dell, Maurice, Shaw, Card, and Buckley.

Citizen *Eccarius* took the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from the Amalgamated Bakers' Union stating that at the annual conference of the Union which would take place in August at Nottingham, the question

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 90-91 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

of the Union becoming affiliated to the I.W.A. would be submitted.[160]

Mrs. Law was accepted as a member of the Council.*

Mr. Miall, the landlord, sent a request for immediate payment of £6 for rent with notice to quit; after some discussion Citizen *Maurice* offered the use of his room at 16, Castle Street until September next.

It was proposed by Citizen *Lessner* and seconded [by] Citizen *Jung*: That the offer of Citizen Maurice be accepted and that the Council meet there next Tuesday.

Citizen *Maurice* brought a letter from the London Tailors' Strike Committee. He wished the Council to get it published on the Continent.

It was moved by Citizen *Jung* and seconded by *Fox*: That the letter be sent to Citizen Collet for publication in the *Courrier International*, subject to his (Collet's) editorial discretion.

Fox then read the Congress committee's report as follows:

Order of the Day. 1st. Report of the General Council. 2nd. Programme. 3rd. Rest of the Order of the Day.

PROGRAMME

1st. Combination of efforts of the working classes by means of the International Working Men's Association.

2nd. How can the working classes utilise for the purpose of their own emancipation the credit which they now give to the middle classes and the governments.[161]

REPORTS

Eccarius stated that he had received a letter from Berlin in reply to his on behalf of the tailors. This letter said the Berlin tailors had raised about £18 for the London tailors. Eccarius also stated that the philanthropic coopers would

* This sentence is inserted by Eccarius.—*Ed.*

see about joining the I.W.A. at their next aggregate meeting.

Jung reported that he went to the engineers last Thursday. Odger was not there, and nothing was done. He had appointed to go next Thursday if it was agreeable.

Jung [and] Dupont were then appointed to go again on Thursday, and *Odger* promised to meet them there.

Jung also stated that the appeal that he had sent to Becker on behalf of the London tailors was published in the *Vorbote*, and that another new branch of the Association had been opened in Switzerland.[162]

The meeting then adjourned.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

July 2nd

Citizen *J. George Eccarius* in the chair.

On account of the absence of the Secretary, Citizen *Fox* read the Minutes. They were confirmed as read.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Geneva complaining about the inactivity of the General Council respecting the Congress programme. It also stated that the Peace Congress*** to be held at Geneva was so arranged that the delegates who would be sent to Lausanne could attend and accomplish a twofold mission.[163]

Vienne. A letter was read announcing that the branch had sent [a] 60 fr. gift and 40 fr. loan to the tailors of London on strike. The branch numbered 600 members and might have numbered 1,000 had it not been for the want of *carnets*. The branch was likely to send two del-

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 91-92 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom.—*Ed.*

egates to the Congress.[164] They had applied for permission to print the Rules, but the government authorities had refused. They demand 50 copies more of the Congress report. Citizen Marcheval of Vienne requested to be authorised to open a branch at Annonay, which was unanimously given.

INTERNATIONAL PENNY POSTAGE

Citizen *Fox* gave notice that on the following Tuesday he would present his written statement to the Postmaster-General.

Citizen Fox complained that a member of the French branch, Citizen Besson, had misconducted himself at the public meeting held under [the] auspices of the German Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein to commemorate the insurrection of June 1848. After some conversation the question was adjourned till July 9.

Citizen Fox called attention to the rapid progress of productive co-operative associations in America.

Members present: Citizens Fox, Law,[165] Eccarius, Dupont, Keller, Cohn, Lessner, and Maurice.

The meeting then adjourned to Tuesday, July 9.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

July 9

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Citizen *Eccarius* stated that he had taken notes of the last meeting but had left them at his house.

A letter was read from Citizen Shaw in which he stated that having not been able to obtain employment in London, he could not continue his functions as General Secretary. There being no alternative his resignation was ac-

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 92-95 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

cepted, and on the proposition of Citizen *Marx*, seconded by Citizen *Lessner*, a vote of thanks for the services rendered by Citizen Shaw, while in office, was unanimously carried.

APPOINTMENT OF A GENERAL SECRETARY

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Buckley* seconded, that Citizen J. George Eccarius be appointed Secretary of the Association. Carried unanimously.

A letter was read from Mr. Arthur Miall requesting a written statement respecting the rent due to him.

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Lessner* seconded, that £2 10s. be paid to Mr. Miall. Agreed and the Secretary instructed to pay it.

CORRESPONDENCE

America. Citizen *Fox* read [a] letter from Mr. Sylvis, President of the Iron-Moulders' Union,[166] U.S., in answer to an appeal on behalf of the London tailors on strike. Mr. Sylvis stated that his Union had done a good deal in the way of warring against the capitalists. It had expended $35,000 during the past and $40,000 during the present year and had now 2,000 members out of work. It had resolved to turn its attention principally to establishing co-operative foundries, which was the only effectual mode of dealing with the labour question. They had several foundries in full blaze and more would be erected. Their funds were too low to grant relief, but he would see what could be done in the shape of voluntary contributions. It also contained information about a labour convention to be held next month at Chicago.

Fox was instructed to write to Mr. Jessup, the organiser of the convention.

Italy. Citizen *Jung* read a letter from G. Dassy in Naples complaining that his former letters had not been answered, and he asked for the Rules of the Association.

Citizen Carter was instructed to reply.

France. Citizen *Dupont* announced that the bronze-workers of Paris had voted a gift of £10 and a loan of the same amount to the London tailors on strike. The Bordeaux branch had sent £1 12s. to the tailors and £1 8s. contribution to the Council. At Fleurieux-sur-Saône and Rouen public meetings were to be held in support of the tailors.

Citizen Dupont inquired about the publication of the Geneva Congress report in pamphlet form.[167]

The Secretary was instructed to invite Citizen Collet to attend the Standing Committee on Saturday, July 13.

Castelnaudary. Complaints were being made about police restrictions, but promises made to do the best to organise the Association.

London. A letter was read from the manager of the *Commonwealth* requesting payment for the advertisement.

It was agreed to discontinue the advertisement.

DEPUTATIONS

Amalgamated Engineers. Citizen *Jung* reported that Citizen Odger had not kept his appointment, and in consequence of that his own presentation had been delayed to such a late hour that but a very brief statement could be made, and the Council of the Engineers had adjourned without a decision. The Secretary was instructed [to write] to Mr. Allan. The Secretary was also instructed to write to the London compositors and the brass finishers.

GENERAL AFFAIRS

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Lafargue* seconded that the following be the first Congress resolution:

On the practical means by which to enable the International Working Men's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of capital. Agreed.

Citizen *Eccarius* read the subjoined address which was unanimously adopted. It was further agreed that 300 [copies] should be printed for circulation and that Citizen Lafargue should render it in the French language and bring it before the Standing Committee on Saturday, July 13.

Respecting Citizen Besson's misconduct it was agreed that he should attend the Standing Committee [on] July 13, and the Secretary was instructed to write to him.

Citizen *Fox* brought his written statement to the Postmaster-General before the Council. Citizens *Eccarius*, *Jung*, and *Carter*, all of whom waited on the Postmaster of Switzerland, suggested some additions which Citizen *Fox* readily accepted and stated that he would complete the document in the course of the week.[168]

The meeting then adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Lafargue, Yarrow, and Zabicki.*

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION. TO THE MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

Fellow Working Men,—According to the reports we have received from time to time—our Continental members are very persevering in propagating the principles and extending the ramifications of our Association, particularly in Switzerland, where most of our branches are

* Here a copy of the leaflet, printed in connection with the Lausanne Congress, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

actively engaged in establishing benefit and credit funds, and co-operative societies of production in connection with our Association; the progress of the British section has been greatly interfered with by the Reform movement. As the Council looks upon the political enfranchisement of the working classes as a means to complete their social emancipation, it was but natural that the British members should take a leading part in the Reform agitation and that our affiliated societies should, for the time being, throw their whole weight into the balance against reactionary phrase-mongers and malignant obstructives to bring matters to a crisis. However, now that the heat of the agitation has subsided, that no more monster demonstrations have to be organised, and the time appointed for the meeting of the second annual congress is drawing near, it is high time that those who have absented themselves during the height of the contest should resume their seats at the Council board, and our affiliated branches should make an effort to lend us a helping hand. The aims of our Association are not ephemeral; our labours will continue to absorb the attention of the working population until wages-slavery has become a matter of history. What the lot of the labouring population would be if everything were left to isolated, individual bargaining, may be easily foreseen. The iron rule of supply and demand, if left unchecked, would speedily reduce the producers of all the wealth to a starvation level, since in the actual condition of society every improvement of the productive powers, every abridgement of manual labour, tends but to lower wages and increase the hours of toil. Surely the labouring poor, the producers of all wealth, have a human, an inherent, a natural claim to participate in the fruits of their own toil, but this claim can only be enforced and realised by the union of all. Sectional efforts are of little avail, and partful successes are but short-lived. Nothing short of a thorough union and combination

of the work-people of all countries can achieve the satisfactory solution of the labour question. Much has already been done in that direction, but more remains to be done. The periodical meeting of the representative men of the different countries has the effect of removing time-honoured national antipathies, cementing friendship, and smoothing the path for a common mode of action towards a common end. We therefore appeal to you to do what is in your power to send as many representatives of the British branches as possible to the ensuing Congress of our Association, which will assemble on Monday, Sept. 2nd, 1867, at Lausanne.

According to the Regulations passed at the first annual congress, every branch is entitled to send a delegate. Branches numbering above 500 members may send a delegate for every full 500 members. Branches that do not consider it advisable to send delegates of their own may contribute towards the expense of delegates representing groups of branches.

The principal questions to be settled by the Congress are:

1. On the practical means by which to enable the International Working Men's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of capital.

2. How can the working classes utilise for the purpose of their own emancipation the credit which they now give to the middle classes and the government.

An early reply stating your decision is requested.

By order of the Council,

GEORGE ODGER, President
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Gen. Sec.

16, Castle Street, East London, W., July 9, 1867.*

* The text of the leaflet ends here. The Minutes are unsigned. —*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 16

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read and confirmed.

GENERAL REPORTS

The *General Secretary*** reported that he received a letter from John Kane, Secretary of [the] National Association of Malleable Iron-Workers, announcing the intention of that body to join.

The Secretary of the Engineers had sent rather an evasive answer, and promised to lay the case before the General Council of the Engineers.

The Secretary of the London Trades Council asked for a deputation to attend the annual meeting of that body.

CORRESPONDENCE

Switzerland. The people of Geneva identify the Sheffield outrages and trades unions with the International Association.[169] The section desired a refutation, but as the Geneva papers had only reproduced extracts from the British journals, it was agreed not [to] do anything in the matter.

Extracts from a leading article in the *Voix de l'Avenir* were read pointing out the fact that Maximilian, the imperial invader of Mexico, had proclaimed sentence of death, which had been executed within 24 hours of its promulgation, against every Mexican that shall be found fighting for his own country against a foreign intruder; and the official press of Europe, in the face of such facts, dared to extenuate his monstrous crimes.[170]

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 96-97 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

France. The *French Secretary** handed over £2 as part of the annual contribution of the Lyons branch. The Lyons branch asked to be authorised to form a central committee for the Rhône Department, which was unanimously granted.

The members of the Lyons branch were very hard up, and might only be able to send one delegate to the congress. To be able to hold periodical meetings they had resolved to register themselves as a co-operative association, but were not silly enough to believe that their savings would emancipate them from the domination of capital. They had prepared a form of cards and projects of rules that would be in harmony with the laws.[171] A new branch had been established at Villefranche, Citizen Chassin, Secretary, which would send a delegate to Lausanne.[172] Another had been established at Castelnaudary. Schettel had received all the numbers of the *Courrier;* [they] would gladly subscribe but were too poor. The *Voix de l'Avenir* was their organ, [but they] were rather more radical than it.[173]

GENERAL BUSINESS

Report of Standing Committee. Citizen Besson justified his conduct: (1) by asserting that at French meetings one man could surrender his place to another; (2) that he had not understood the chairman; (3) that he did not consider it a fault to raise a discussion; (4) that he owned he had been much excited.

Citizen *Fox* on bringing up the report objected to various points and gave notice of [a] motion to take it into consideration at a future opportunity.

The written statement to the Postmaster-General was agreed to, and it was resolved that it should be signed by all the secretaries.

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* Dupont.—*Ed.*

Citizens Marx, Cohn, Fox, Dupont, and Eccarius were appointed as the deputation to attend the annual meeting of the London Trades Council on Thursday, July 25, 1867, Bell Inn, Old Bailey.[174]

It was agreed that the Congress programme should be discussed during the month of August.

Members present: Cohn, Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Dupont, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Keller, Maurice, Yarrow, Zabicki.

The meeting then adjourned to Tuesday, July 23.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

July 23

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary**** reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Dodson, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, [stating] that the rule which [enabled] his Executive to grant £5 towards the Congress fund last year had been rescinded by the Conference of 1867. The Amalgamation had never affiliated itself, which had been stated on one occasion to a deputation.

The Secretary asked leave to write to the London Working Men's Association, which was agreed [to] after some discussion.

CORRESPONDENCE

America. Citizen *Marx* had received letters: one from New York announcing the affiliation of the Communist Club, which rejects all revealed religion and every [doc-

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 97-99 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

trine] not founded upon the perception of concrete objects. It advocates the destruction of individual property, the equality of all persons, and its members bind each other to carry these maxims into practice.[175] The other letter was from a kindred association at Hoboken, N. J., also announcing its adhesion. It called upon the Council to send documents, and spoke of the great danger there was of the working men of America being traduced by the professional politicians—the greatest rascals under the sun, who were advocating working men's measures to retain their places. Senator Wade had made an almost communistic speech the other day, but had explained it away before a bourgeois audience.*

Citizen Marx called the attention of the Council to a Parliamentary Blue Book, "Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the manufactures and commerce of the countries in which they reside, 1867", of which the following is an extract[176]:

"During the first eleven months of 1864 the imports into Belgium of raw cast iron were 7,200 tons, of which 5,300 were British; in the corresponding period of 1865 they rose to 18,800 tons, of which 17,000 tons were British; and in 1866 they rose to 29,590 tons, of which 26,200 tons were British. On the other hand, the exports of Belgian cast iron during the first eleven months of 1864 amounted to 24,400 tons, 17,200 tons of which went to France, and 5,900 tons to England; whereas in the corresponding period of 1866 they did not amount to more than 14,000 tons, of which 9,600 tons were exported to France, and only 241 tons to Great Britain. The exports of Belgian rails have also fallen from 75,353 tons, during the first eleven months of 1864, to 62,734 tons in 1866.

The following is an exact statement, in a tabular form, of the quantities of *iron and steel of all sorts* imported into Belgium from Great Britain, and of Belgian iron and steel exported to Great Britain during the first eleven months of 1866, as compared with the corresponding period of 1864.

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* Here a clipping from *The Working Man* No. 18, July 27, 1867, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

IMPORTS INTO BELGIUM FROM GREAT BRITAIN.
FIRST ELEVEN MONTHS

	1866	*1864*
	tons	*tons*
Ore and filings	0	1
Raw, cast, and old iron	26,211	5,296
Hammered iron (nails, wire, etc.)	1,031	1,777
Castings	41	24
Wrought iron	255	203
Steel in bars, plates, and wire	3,219	1,227
Wrought steel	522	0
Total	31,289	8,528

EXPORTS FROM BELGIUM TO GREAT BRITAIN.
FIRST ELEVEN MONTHS

	1866	*1864*
	tons	*tons*
Ore and filings	1,768	5,555
Raw, cast, and old iron	241	5,920
Hammered iron (nails, wire, etc.)	6,727	9,436
Castings	5	7
Wrought iron	12	0
Steel in bars, plates, and wire	50	56
Wrought steel	16	5
Total	8,817	20,979

The results may be briefly stated thus:—whereas in 1864 (taking the first eleven months of the year) Belgium supplied England with 20,979 tons of iron and steel, in 1866 she only sent 8,817 tons, whilst the exports of British iron and steel to Belgium rose from 8,528 tons in 1864 to 31,289 tons in 1866."

It would be recollected that some of the middle-class newspapers had last year raised an outcry about the pernicious effects of the Trades Unions, that their doings were driving the iron trade from this country into the hands of the Belgian ironmasters. None of the papers that had raised that outcry had even mentioned the appearance of this Blue Book, much less stated its contents.

After the transaction of some routine business the Council adjourned to Tuesday, July 30, 16, Castle Street, East, W.*

Switzerland. The Geneva section had adhered to the programme of the Peace Congress.[177] The radical bourgeois committee of Fleurier called upon the radical bourgeois committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds to fight against the Social-Democratic tendencies of the International, which tended to overthrow social order and caused hatred between different classes.[178] The watchmakers were availing themselves of the International organisation to put a stop to [a] system by which the capitalists paid their workmen at long intervals, and charged discount if the workmen drew money on account.[179]

Italy. Citizen *Carter* stated that he [had] written as directed but that he had only sent the first four numbers of the *Courrier* containing the Congress reports.

Citizen *Eccarius* nominated Citizen Neal, President of the City Branch of the Tailors' Association, to become a member of the Council.

Citizen *Fox* announced that he had received an appeal of the Labour Congress Committee in America.[180]

Citizen *Marx* proposed, *Lessner* seconded:

That our Congress programme be published in the *Courrier Français*, that no branch has a right to put forth a programme of its own, that the Council alone is empowered to draw up the Congress programme, and that the General Secretary be instructed to send the Council programme to the *Courrier* and communicate the foregoing resolution to the Paris Committee. Agreed.[181]

Agreed that the balance-sheet to September 1867 be appended to the Congress report.[182]

Citizen Fox was commissioned to inquire about a room in Cleveland Hall.

Agreed that branches that wanted the Congress report

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

and every act founded upon the perception of concrete objects. It advocates the destruction of individual property, the equality of all persons & its members bind each other to carry these maxims into practice. The letter Citizen was from a Workmen Association at Hoboken N.J. [illegible] called upon the council to send documents, and spoke of the great danger there was of the working men of America being traduced by the professional politicians as the greatest rascals under the sun who were advocating working men's measures to retain their places. Senator Wade had made an almost Communistic speech the other day but had explained it away before a bourgeois audience.

Citizen Marx called the attention of the Council to a Parliamentary Blue book, "Reports by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation on the manufactures and commerce of the countries in which they reside, 1867," of which the following is an extract:—During the first eleven months of 1864 the imports into Belgium of raw cast iron were 7,200 tons, of which 3,300 were British; in the corresponding period of 1865 they rose to 18,000 tons, of which 17,000 tons were British; and in 1866 they rose to 29,590 tons, of which 26,800 tons were British. On the other hand, the exports of Belgium cast iron during the first eleven months of 1864 amounted to 24,000 tons, 17,200 tons of which went to France, and 5,900 tons to England: whereas in the corresponding period of 1866 they did not amount to more than 14,000 tons, of which 9,600 tons were exported to France, and only 241 tons to Great Britain. The exports of Belgian rails have also fallen from 75,253 tons, during the first eleven months of 1864, to 62,744 tons in 1866.

The following is an exact statement, in a tabular form, of the quantities *of iron and steel of all sorts* imported into Belgium from Great Britain, and of Belgian iron and steel exported to Great Britain during the first eleven months of 1866, as compared with the corresponding period of 1864:—

Imports into Belgium from Great Britain. First eleven months ~~of 1865, first eleven months of 1864~~:—

	1866. tons.	1864. tons.
Ore and filings — — —	0	1
Raw, cast, and old iron —	26,211	5,296
Hammered iron (nails, wire, &c.)	1,031	1,777
Castings — — — —	41	24
Wrought iron — — —	255	203
Steel in bars, plates and wire —	3,219	1,227
Wrought steel — — —	522	0
Total	31,289	8,528

Exports from Belgium to Great Britain. First eleven months ~~of 1866, first eleven months of 1864~~:—

	1866. tons.	1864. tons.
Ore and filings — — —	1,768	5,555
Raw, cast, and old iron —	241	5,920
Hammered iron (nails, wire, &c.)	6,727	9,436
Castings — — — —	5	7
Wrought iron — — —	12	0
Steel in bars, plates and wire —	50	56
Wrought steel — — —	16	5
Total	8,817	20,979

The results may be briefly stated thus:—whereas in 1864 (taking the first eleven months of the year) Belgium supplied England with 20,977 tons of iron and steel, in 1866 she only sent 8,117 tons, whilst the exports of British iron and steel to Belgium rose from 8,528 tons in 1864 to 31,289 tons in 1866.

It would be recollected that some of the middle class newspapers had last year raised an outcry about the pernicious effects of the Trades' Unions, that their doings were driving the iron trade from this country into the hands of the Belgian iron masters. None of the papers that had raised that outcry had even mentioned the appearance of this Blue book much less stated its contents.

After the transaction of some routine business the Council adjourned to Tuesday, July 30.

16, Castle-street, East, W.

Switzerland. The Geneva section had adhered to the programme of the peace congress. The Radical Bourgeois Committee of Vevey called upon the Radical Bourgeois Committee of La chaux de Fonds to fight against the Social Democratic tendencies of the International, which tended to overthrow social order & caused hatred between different classes. The watchmakers were availing themselves of the International Organisation to put a stop to system by which the capitalist paid their workmen at long intervals, and charged discount if the workmen drew money on account.

Page of the Minute Book (General Council meeting of July 23, 1867) with the printed text of Marx's speech on the statistics in a new Blue Book

in pamphlet form should send an instalment of the money.[183]

Citizen *Fox* announced that a Social Science Association had been formed in America.

The Council then adjourned to July 30.

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Jung, Lessner, Law, Marx, Maurice, Keller, Stepney, Williams.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

July 30

Citizen *Carter* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary**** reported that Alfred A. Walton had written that he was prevented [from] going as a delegate by the publication of his book *Our Future Progress*. He sent five shillings to the Congress fund.

The Coventry ribbon-weavers had inquired about the particulars of going to Switzerland with a view of sending a special delegate.

Mr. Kane, the Secretary of the Malleable Iron-Workers, was going to try what he could do for the Congress fund.

The coach-trimmers, The Globe, will consider the question about the Congress fund.

The Curriers' Society had consented to entertain a deputation on August 1.

The Eintracht, a German club in Whitechapel, had voted 10s. to the Congress fund,[184] and the tailors of Bremen had sent £4 10s. for the tailors on strike.

The Polish branch announced by letter that it would

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 99-101 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

appoint a Polish exile resident in Switzerland as delegate to [the] Congress[185] and contribute according to its means to the Congress fund. It sends two years' contribution.

Citizen Neal was unanimously elected as a member of the Council.

CORRESPONDENCE

France. Citizen Vasseur, the Marseilles correspondent, wrote from Fuveau, a coal-mining village about 30 kilometres from Marseilles, that the capitalists of that place were doing all in their power to turn the miners, about 500 in number, against the International Association. He and a few friends did all they could on the other side and he would not leave before establishing a branch. Tolain had placed the *Courrier Français* at his disposal, which was a great assistance. He asked the French Secretary to write an encouraging letter to Marseilles to keep the spirits of the members up.

Citizen Talbot of Caen announced in his letter that Longuet was with him, that his branch would send a delegate to Lausanne, and that he would send a guinea for the Council.[186]

A letter was read from Eugène Benière, of Neuville-sur-Saône, announcing that a delegate would be sent to Lausanne, and that the branch was in favour of the Peace Congress.[187]

REPORT OF DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Fox* had made inquiries about the Cleveland Coffee-Room. It was only free [on] Wednesdays and could be had for half-a-crown a week.

Citizen *Cohn* objected, as Wednesday meetings would be tantamount to his exclusion, because the committee of his society met that night.

The question was adjourned.

Citizen *Cohn* gave a report of the proceedings of the London Trades Council who had [taken] up the entire evening with a quarrel between the Council and some branches of the Amalgamated Carpenters.[188] The meeting stood adjourned to August 3, and he volunteered to attend again. Citizen Hales was appointed to accompany him.

Citizens Hales and Eccarius were appointed to attend the curriers' delegate meeting on August 1.

Citizen *Marx* gave notice of [a] motion that the Peace programme be taken into consideration on the 6th of August.

Citizen *Carter* gave notice that at the next Council [meeting] he would move that four delegates to the Congress be appointed. The Council then adjourned to Tuesday, August 6.

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Gardner, Hales, Keller, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Zabicki.

Citizen Isard, a member of the French branch, was authorised to act as agent of the Association in the United States.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

August 6

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary**** reported that Citizen Howell

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 101-03 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

had sent 2s. 6d. to the Congress fund and applied for a letter of introduction to the Paris members.

The board of management of the Coventry ribbon-weavers had referred the subject of sending a delegate to the Congress to a meeting of trade delegates which would take place in a few days.[189]

The Alliance Cabinet-Makers had written that the pressure upon their funds had been so great that it was impossible to grant anything for the Congress. The organ-builders had sent their annual subscription [of] 2s. 1d., but could not give anything towards the expenses of the Congress. The Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein was going to hold a summoned meeting to see what could be done about the Congress. The Executive of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had agreed to an annual contribution of £2 leaving it optional for the branches to affiliate themselves separately.[190] The delegate meeting of the Curriers' Society had received the deputation favourably, but, according to a letter of the Secretary, the question would have to be submitted to the members for decision.

CORRESPONDENCE

France. A letter was read from Citizen Toutain, Condé (Calvados), stating that there were only four members left, that they had sent 5 fr. to Citizen Fribourg, and that [they] would unite with the Caen branch to send a delegate. Citizen Marcheval wrote from Vienne (Isère) that the question of sending a delegate was being discussed.[191] He stated that he wanted some Congress reports. He wanted to go to Annonay and required to show something. A letter from Citizen Suire at Nantes announced that the Congress reports as well [as] the address and invitation to the next congress had been received. Many of the former members had not renewed their annual contributions

fearing that, as the Association was political, it might get them into trouble. It was very difficult to make propaganda at Nantes. There were many benefit and charitable institutions and the people were on the whole very religious. Anyone who asked for money to accomplish anything was looked upon as a rogue. The writer had been disparaged by people who had formerly been his associates.

Citizen *Dupont* stated that with much trouble he had succeeded to get the Congress address and programme published in the *Courrier de l'Europe*. He also received an invitation for the Council to send a delegate to the co-operative congress to be held at Paris on the 16, 17, and 18 of the present month.[192]

Citizen *Fox* announced that he had received an Address from the Labour Congress Committee, U.S., and that by this he had discovered that the address he formerly had was wrong. The Chicago *Work[ing]man's Advocate* had published several parts of our Congress reports and stated in [an] article on the ensuing Labour Congress in America that one of the questions to be decided was the advisability of sending a delegate to the International Congress in Europe to prevent the inundations of work-people brought over by the capitalists from Europe to depreciate the value of labour, and to bring about an understanding between the working people of the two continents.[193]

DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Hales* stated that he had attended with Citizen Cohn the London Trades Council, but that the other business had taken up the whole evening and the question of the Congress had not come up for discussion. There would be no other meeting before the Congress.

Citizens Hales and Jung were appointed to attend the brass finishers' meeting next Monday.

Citizen *Carter* proposed, Citizen *Yarrow* seconded:

That Citizen Howell be asked to attend the co-operative congress at Paris as delegate of the Council and Citizen Dupont furnish him with credentials. Unanimously agreed.

The question about the Cleveland Coffee-Room was again adjourned; Mrs. Law volunteered to make inquiries whether it could not be had on Tuesdays. Citizen Maurice was instructed to inquire about the Franklin Hall.

Citizen *Carter* proposed that four delegates be appointed and that whatever money might come in should be equally divided amongst them and that they should be requested to advance the remainder.

After some discussion the motion was withdrawn.

Citizen *Hales* then proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded:

That the money be given to the delegates according to the number of votes; that is, he who had the highest number of votes should receive the first £10 and so in rotation as far as the money that might come in would reach. This resolution was carried by 7 against 5 votes.

It was then agreed that four delegates be appointed; that the nomination should be proceeded with at once and the ballot take place on Tuesday, August 13. Citizens Jung, Odger, and Shaw declined to be nominated. The following were nominated: Citizens Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Law, and Marx.

The meeting then adjourned to August 13.*

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION**

The ordinary weekly Council meeting was held last Tuesday evening, August 13.***

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in the form of a clipping, pasted onto p. 104 of the Minute Book, from *The Bee-Hive* No. 305, August 17, 1867, carrying a report of the General Council meeting of August 13.—*Ed.*

*** The words "August 13" are in handwriting.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary** reported that he had received notice that the two societies of basket-makers were going to have a special meeting, when the question concerning the delegate to the International Congress would be decided.[194] The Chelsea branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had passed a resolution urging upon the Executive Council of that Association the necessity of taking the votes of all the members for or against affiliating the entire body to the International Association. The Executive of the Amalgamated Tailors' Association had agreed to propose the affiliation of that association as a substantial resolution at the next conference; they were not permitted by their rules to grant any assistance to the Congress fund.

The French branch had appointed Citizen Dupont as special delegate to the Congress, and the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein[195] would appoint a special delegate in the course of the ensuing week.

The Berlin cigar-makers had sent 25 thalers for the tailors on strike.

Citizen *Hales* announced that the Elastic Web-Weavers' Association had granted £1 to the Congress fund.

It was then agreed that the balloting should be proceeded with.

Citizen *Marx* stated that he was not in a position to go to the Congress this year, and must therefore withdraw.

As Citizen Dupont was already appointed by the French branch, the ballot simply turned upon which of the proposed delegates should have the preference in case the means should prove insufficient to send the four.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

While the balloting was going on, Citizen *Marx* called attention to the Peace Congress to be held in Geneva.[196] He said it was desirable that as many delegates as could make it convenient should attend the Peace Congress in their individual capacity; but that it would be injudicious to take part officially as representatives of the International Association. The International Working Men's Congress was in itself a peace congress, as the union of the working classes of the different countries must ultimately make international wars impossible. If the promoters of the Geneva Peace Congress really understood the question at issue they ought to have joined the International Association.

The present increase of the large armies in Europe had been brought about by the revolution of 1848; large standing armies were the necessary result of the present state of society. They were not kept up for international warfare, but to keep down the working classes.[197] However, as there were not always barricades to bombard, and working men to shoot, there was sometimes a possibility of international quarrels being fomented to keep the soldiery in trim. The peace-at-any-price party would no doubt muster strong at the Congress. That party would fain leave Russia alone in the possession of the means to make war upon the rest of Europe, while the very existence of such a power as Russia was enough for all the other countries to keep their armies intact.

It was more than probable that some of the French Radicals would avail themselves of the opportunity to make declamatory speeches against their own Government, but such would have more effect if delivered at Paris.

Those who declined putting their shoulders to the wheel to bring about a transformation in the relations of labour and capital ignored the very conditions of universal peace.

He ended by proposing, "That the delegates of the Council be instructed not to take any official part in the

Peace Congress, and to resist any motion that might be brought forward at the Working Men's Congress tending to take an official part".[198]

Citizen *Keller* stated that the delegate of the French branch had already received instructions to that effect.

After some observations by Citizens *Fox* and *Eccarius* the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The result of the ballot was:—Citizen George Eccarius, 1st; Peter Fox, 2nd; James Carter, 3rd; Mrs. Law, 4th.[199]

On the motion of Mrs. Law it was agreed that the next meeting, on Tuesday, August 20th, be held at the Cleveland Hall Coffee-Room.

The subjects to be discussed are the annual report and the Congress programme.

The meeting then adjourned.*

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION**

The General Council met on Tuesday last, August 20,*** in the Cleveland Hall Coffee-Room, where the regular Tuesday night's meetings will be held in future. There was a muster of members who have lately devoted their energies entirely to the Reform movement; now that the bill has become law they will resume their seats at the Council board.[200]

Citizen *Jung* occupied the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary***** reported that the London

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in the form of a clipping, pasted onto p. 105 of the Minute Book, from *The Bee-Hive* No. 306, August 24, 1867, carrying a report of the General Council meeting of August 20.—*Ed.*

*** The words "August 20" are in handwriting.—*Ed.*

**** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

cigar-makers had voted £1 1s. to the Congress fund, and the West End ladies' boot-makers £5. The Coventry ribbon-weavers had appointed a special delegate, and Citizen Alfred A. Walton, of Brecon, had announced his intention of representing the National Reform League, of which he is the President.

The *Swiss Secretary** announced the formation of a branch at Berne.[201]

The *French Secretary*** read a letter from the miners of Fuveau, who have established a branch. He also announced that the Rules of the Association had been printed in Algiers.

The *Secretary for America**** read a letter from Mr. W. J. Jessup, Vice-President and orderly officer of the National Labour Union for the state of New York, of which the following is an extract:

"It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge your welcome letter and accompanying papers, for which favour please accept my most sincere thanks. I have long desired to open correspondence with the working men of England, and have written two or three letters with that end in view. The Corresponding Secretary of the National Labour Union is very dilatory in answering. As an officer of the National Labour Union I exceedingly regret that your kindness in furnishing report and information relating to the Geneva Congress has not been reciprocated on the part of our Corresponding Secretary, as I hold it as a matter of great importance that the working men of both the old and the new countries should be in close communication in relation to the labour movement, as I believe it will prove of mutual benefit to all. I much regret that the day will be too far advanced when our national body meets to take action upon sending a delegate to the Congress at Lausanne. I would much like to see the working men of the United States represented therein. I shall take much pleasure in complying with your request to inform the Chicago Congress of the assembling of your Congress on September 2nd. I shall also take the liberty in making my report

* Jung.—*Ed.*
** Dupont.—*Ed.*
*** Fox.—*Ed.*

to that body to read your letter, believing it of sufficient importance to make it public. I desire to assure your General Council that, having been elected delegate to Chicago from the Working Men's Union of this city,[202] I will immediately on my return write them full information as to the action taken by the Union, and will forward such papers as contain the fullest account of the proceedings. My official term as Vice-President will terminate with the sitting of the Union. I would like to maintain our correspondence in my other official position as President of the New York State Working Men's Assembly, or Corresponding Secretary of the New York Working Men's Union, and will be at all times happy to exchange documents relating to the labour question. I recognise the necessity of frequent intercourse between our two bodies, and if I hold an official position therein another year, I will do all in my power to maintain such intercourse, and will willingly furnish any information in my power that you or the General Council may desire, or exchange papers or documents of interest. Many of the trades of San Francisco are on strike against an increase of hours of labour, having been employed on the eight hours' system the past nineteen months."

The *General Secretary* then read his draft of the third annual report of the Association, which, with an additional paragraph about the action taken by the Council respecting international penny postage, and some verbal amendments, was agreed to. It appears from this report that the British section of the Association had been increased by the affiliation of ten organised bodies. In France, seven new branches have been established, and one in Algiers. In Switzerland several trades societies, as well as co-operative and political societies, have been affiliated.

The special report of the Secretary for America was also agreed to.

A conversation then arose about some of the Council members that were appointed at the last Congress, but have not put in an appearance for some time, nor paid their annual contributions.

It was resolved, "That the names of all members of the Council whose contributions are not paid by Tuesday,

August 27th, be struck off the list of Council members."

As the evening was too far advanced, the discussion of the Congress questions was adjourned to Tuesday next.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

Tuesday, August 27

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary**** reported that the United Society of Journeyman Curriers had announced their affiliation and the secretary had paid the entrance fee. The London basket-makers paid their annual contribution and 12s. 6d. to the Congress fund.

The balance-sheet was then read, and Citizens Maurice and Hales appointed as auditors.

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Fox*, seconded by Citizen *Marx*, it was resolved that the Congress delegate should receive £12.

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from the Postmaster-General in answer to the memorial sent by the Council, in favour of a reduction of international postage. The Postmaster-General concurred in the views expressed in that document.[203]

The special report of the American Secretary was read and adopted.[204]

DISCUSSION OF THE CONGRESS QUESTIONS

The regular payment of contributions was considered to be of the utmost importance, as one of the practical means to enable the Association to fulfil its functions.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 106-07 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Hales* thought the Council should depend less on trades unions and enter more into a general propaganda to attract the foremost thinkers in the various localities.

Citizen *Fox* thought we have local agents in various places.

Citizen *Carter* maintained that with the exception of our interference in strikes we had done nothing and neglected everything regarding the practical application of the great principles of the Association.

Citizen *Fox* mentioned that it was owing to the International that the Polish question had been kept alive.

Citizen *Odger* said we required discussions upon the most important questions of the day to attract public notice and make our meetings more entertaining, which would increase our funds and enable us to carry out our principles. There was not sufficient publicity at present.

Citizen *Marx* was rather against turning our Association into a debating club. We had made considerable progress abroad and had obtained a good standing in France. For weeks together none of the British members, except Fox, Shaw, Carter, and Buckley, had come near us. He was not against discussing great questions.

Citizen *Odger* thought special meetings might be held for particular questions.

Carter, Mistress *Law*, *Hales*, and *Fox* spoke in favour of debates.

It was then proposed that a special meeting be held on Thursday to discuss the second question, which was agreed to.*

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

[*SPECIAL MEETING*]*

At the special meeting the balance-sheet was adopted.[205]

Citizen Walton and Citizen Swann, the provincial delegates announced at former meetings, were present.

Citizen *Walton* paid the entrance fee and the annual contribution of the National Reform League, and Citizen *Tatschky* the contribution of the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein.

[Cit. *Fox* entered into a lengthy statement about the Bank Charter Act and the Currency Laws and Citizen *Walton* made some remarks upon the general questions of credit. As there was no eagerness manifested to enter upon the real merits of the question respecting the funds of trades societies, the meeting terminated with a few good wishes for the success of the deliberations of the Congress by Citizen Shaw who occupied the chair.]**

This version was rejected on the motion of Citizen *Fox* and the following substituted by himself:

Citizen *Fox* spoke on the credit question and in a lengthy statement showed that the currency laws of Great Britain impeded the growth of popular credit associations in these islands.

Citizen *Walton* spoke on the general subject of credit. No one else took part in the discussion and the meeting adjourned.***

*COUNCIL MEETING*****

September 17

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read.

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* No heading and no date. The meeting was held on August 29. The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 107 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** This paragraph is crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

**** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 108-09 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Fox* objected to the version given of the discussion on the second Congress question.

After a good deal of discussion Citizen Fox handed a written statement to the Secretary to be substituted for the version given by the Secretary, which was agreed to, and the Minutes confirmed.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY*

The French polishers had sent their annual contribution; the Lynn carpenters and joiners had sent 9s. 9d. in postage stamps demanding [the] Rules and cards; the National Association of Operative Plasterers, Liverpool,** in delegate meeting assembled, had voted a guinea a year to the funds of the International Association and wanted to know whom to send the money to; the house painters, Birmingham, had sent their adhesion enclosing a post-office order of 19s. 7d. as entrance fee and annual contribution.

Citizen *Jung* announced that a new paper, *La Liberté*, had been started in Belgium, the editorial staff of which had asked for literary contributions, offering to insert anything that might be of interest to the Association.[206]

Citizen *Shaw* objected to the manner in which Citizen Fox had rendered the reports of the American Labour Congress in the *Bee-Hive* making it appear as if our correspondent was the correspondent of the *Bee-Hive*.[207]

After a good deal of discussion the matter [was] dropped.

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Eccarius* it was agreed that £2, the remainder of the balance due to R. Cottam, should be paid.

It was further agreed that two quires of the *Bee-Hive* of Saturday, September 14, and two quires of Saturday, September 21, be purchased for the use of the Council.[208]

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** Here the words "had sent their adhesion" are crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

As the time was too far advanced to hear the report of the Congress delegate, the meeting adjourned to Tuesday, September 24.

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Cohn, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Shaw, Zabicki.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

September 24

Citizen *Odger* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A *delegate from the French polishers* announced his presence.

The Secretary of the Liverpool Cigar-Makers announced by letter the affiliation of that body, and also that he had sent a P.O.O. payable to R. Shaw to 18, Bouverie St., which had not come to hand.

Citizen *Fox* consented to make inquiries.

Citizen *Eccarius* gave an account of his mission to Lausanne and the proceedings of the Peace Congress at Geneva.[209]

Citizen *Lessner* spoke about the indecorous behaviour of some of the delegates at Lausanne. He stated that the Congress had been really representative. The Minutes would be published in full in the French language at the expense of the French-speaking delegates.

A vote of thanks to the delegates [was passed].

In consequence of the announcement that the Congress had voted 1d. per member a year to the central fund, Citizen *Fox* raised the question whether it would not be advisable to abolish the 5s. entrance fee for societies.[210]

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 109-11 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizens *Eccarius, Odger, Marx* were* against the abolition.

Citizen *Shaw* gave notice of [a] motion to abolish the shilling contribution of delegates to the Council from affiliated societies.

Citizen *Fox* gave notice to call the attention of the Council to Eccarius's reports of the Congress in the *Times*.

Citizen *Marx* gave notice to call the attention of the Council to a letter addressed by Citizen Fox to Ph. Becker of Geneva with a view to ascertain its purport.[211]

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Hales*, it was unanimously agreed not to appoint a standing president.[212]

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Shaw*, it was unanimously [agreed] that the functions hitherto performed by the financial secretary should be transferred to the general secretary and the office of financial secretary abolished.

The following were appointed as officers without a dissentient voice: R. Shaw, treasurer; J. George Eccarius, general secretary; Eugène Dupont, secretary for France; Karl Marx for Germany; Zabicki for Poland; Hermann Jung for Switzerland; James Carter for Italy; Peter Fox for America; Paul Lafargue for Spain.

On account of the constant absence of Citizen Besson, the late Secretary for Belgium, the appointment of a secretary for Belgium was postponed.[213]

Citizen *Cohn*, the delegate of the London Cigar-Makers' Association, stated that by economical management his society had succeeded in accumulating a fund amounting to about £2,000 which was deposited in the savings-bank at an annual interest of $2^1/_2$ per cent. They thought that money might be applied more beneficially and they wanted

* Here the words "of a contrary opinion" are crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

to know how. He submitted the question to the Council with a view to being taken into consideration and that the Council might give some advice in the matter and state its opinion whether it was possible to devise a scheme to put the money to a better purpose.

The committee had offered a price of two guineas for the best essay upon the best means to apply the funds of the association. This was confined to the members of the association but they wanted the advice of the Council too. The time fixed for the examination of the essays was February 1868.

Citizen *Hinton* (a citizen of the United States) inquired how he could aid the efforts of the International Association on his return home. He thought it was high time that the Americans should give up their somewhat narrow movement which was confined to national limits. He thought with proper management the moral weight of the American Republic might be gained for the support of struggling democracy in Europe. He would do his best to bring about a co-operation that would have such an effect and he would also endeavour to get an American delegation to the next International Working Men's Congress. He stigmatised the attacks of the *Times* against the American Labour Congress and stated there was no foundation for the assertion made in the *Times* respecting immigration from Europe.[214]

After several propositions and a good deal of discussion the question as to the special powers to be entrusted to Citizen Hinton was postponed.

The meeting adjourned at 10:30 o'clock.

Members present: Buckley, Cohn, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Zabicki.

H. JUNG, Chairman*
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

* H. Jung was in the chair at the meeting of October 1, at which the said Minutes were confirmed.—*Ed.*

Council members appointed by the Congress with power to add to their number: Besson, Buckley, Carter, Dell, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Harriet Law, Hales, Howell, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Lassassie, Lafargue, Lawrence, Marx, Morgan, Maurice, Odger, Shaw, Stainsby, Williams, Walton, Weston, Yarrow, Zabicki.

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 1

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary*** read a letter from Birmingham, the writer of which asked for the addresses of the Continental secretaries for the Rev. Neil to transmit peace addresses.

The Council took no action upon the matter.

A letter was read from the tailors of Cologne asking for the Rules of the English Tailors' Association and little advice for the guidance of a tailors' congress to be held on the 14th of October at Leipzig to establish an amalgamation.[215]

The Secretary was instructed to answer officially.

The *Secretary* reported that Mr. Potter had sent a bill charging 2d. a copy for 100 *Bee-Hives*.

Citizen *Fox* volunteered to try and get the charge reduced to trade price.

Citizen Fox reported that Mr. Miall was in possession of the letter from the Liverpool cigar-makers containing a post-office order, but would only give it up to some authorised officer.

Citizen Eccarius was ordered to go and get it.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 112-13 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Citizens *Maurice* and *Eccarius* nominated Mr. Newberry to become a member of the Council.

Citizen *Fox* announced that the question of the affiliation of the boot-closers had been postponed for a fuller meeting.

Citizen Fox asked leave to postpone the consideration of Citizen Eccarius's correspondence in the *Times*.

Citizen *Marx* preferred postponing his question respecting Citizen Fox's letter to Ph. Becker.[216]

Resolved that the *Bee-Hives*, containing the annual report and balance-sheet[217] to [be] sent to the metropolitan societies, be directed and brought to the next meeting.

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Fox*, seconded by Citizen *Lessner*, it was unanimously resolved to give credentials to Citizen Hinton of America.

Citizen *Fox* gave notice that on an early day he would call attention to the relations of the *Bee-Hive* towards the Council.

On account of Citizen Shaw's absence the motion standing in his name was adjourned.*

Members present: Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Zabicki.

Chairman**
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING****

October 8

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The *General Secretary***** reported that the Secretary

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* See p. 161 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Unsigned.—*Ed.*
*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 113-15 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*
**** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

of the Birmingham Trades Council had applied for the Rules of the Association. He had sent some copies of the Address and Provisional Rules.[218]

Mr. Hillam of Lynn had applied for nine cards and Rules for the 9s. 9d. sent the other day. He sent the names of nine men belonging to various trades as candidates to become members. The affiliation of the Trades branch was not yet decided upon.

Mr. Arthur Miall would only give up the letter on condition that the Secretary signed a paper to make himself responsible for the £3 10s. owing for rent and gas, which condition the Secretary did not comply with.

Citizen *Shaw* undertook to try and get the letter.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen Isard sent a letter from New York stating that he had many influential men but none were serious about the International except Mr. Jessup. Writing letters to the others was labour in vain. He had been present at a States' delegate meeting of the National Labour Union where he and Citizen Drury, another member of the French branch, had been well received. Both had spoken and laid the annexed propositions upon the table. He asked for credentials both for himself and Citizen Drury.[219]

Upon the proposition [of] Citizen *Fox*, seconded by Citizen *Dupont*, it was agreed to send him credentials, annul* and Congress reports.

Citizen *Lafargue* read a Spanish letter from a Spaniard who had read something about the Congress of Lausanne. The writer was very enthusiastic for the working classes. In Madrid he had effected an alliance between the students and the working men. He had travelled over all Europe

* See pp. 292-303 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

and was conscious that much was to be done in Spain but the country was too much agitated at present. There was good material in Catalonia, Aragon, and Castile. He would persevere and encounter a martyr's fate if need be.

Citizen *Fox* announced that he had received the American papers but had not read them yet. The *Work[ing]-man's Advocate* of Chicago contained a full report.

Citizen *Marx* announced that a member of the Association, Citizen Liebknecht, had been returned to the North German Parliament by the working men of Saxony.[220] He was the only member that had dared to attack Bismarck's war policy, for which he had been invited by the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein—a Schulze-Delitzsch society—to receive the acknowledgements of the working men for his services.*

Citizen *Fox* introduced the motion of which he had given notice at [the] last meeting condemning the reports sent by Citizen Eccarius from Lausanne to the *Times*, and supported it in a speech of considerable length; Citizen *Carter* supported and stated that he considered it the duty of any Council member who had a stigma cast upon him to resign. He then announced his resignation as Italian Secretary and member of the Council and left the room.

Citizen *Shaw* also concurred in Fox's view and thought** it wrong that reports had been sent to the *Times*.***

Citizens *Marx*, *Jung*, *Lafargue*, and *Zabicki* opposed it.

Citizen *Hales* moved a more general resolution which *Fox* preferred to his own, to which Citizen *Marx* moved the order of the day as an amendment, which was carried against two.[221]

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* Here the following words are crossed out in the *Minutes*: "Cit. Fox then brought on his charge against Cit. Eccarius on account of his report of the Lausanne Congress in the *Times*."—*Ed.*

** Here the words "the reports ought to have" are crossed out.—*Ed.*

*** Here the words "instead of sending them to" are crossed out.—*Ed.*

The Council then adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Carter, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Zabicki.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

October 22

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary**** announced that the Cheltenham cordwainers had sent 2s. 6d. towards the Congress fund.

Citizen *Shaw* read a letter from Miall demanding money before Wednesday to stop prosecution. The letter containing the post-office order from the Liverpool cigar-makers had been cut open and pasted together again by Mr. Miall.

It was agreed to pay Mr. Miall 10s. and the Secretary was instructed to answer his letter which contained insinuations against the members of the Council.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Lausanne asking for a loan to liquidate some debts incurred by the section as a co-operative association.[222]

Citizen Jung was instructed to answer the letter and to state that the Council [was] unable to render any assistance.

Citizen *Marx* read some extracts from the stenographic reports of the North German Parliament. Mr. Liebknecht, a member of the Association, had delivered a speech in favour of the abolition of standing armies and the introduction of popular armaments, and subjecting Bismarck's conduct in the Luxemburg affair to a severe criticism.[223]

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 115-16 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

It was then agreed that the Secretary should summon all the members of the Council appointed by the Lausanne Congress.

The issuing of the plenary powers of delegation demanded by Citizens Isard and Drury in the United States was postponed.

It was agreed that in future no extra charge should be made for cards of membership.

The resolution requiring the delegates of affiliated societies to take out cards of membership was rescinded.[224]

It was unanimously agreed that the money voted to Citizen Maurice for the use of his room be paid as soon as possible.

The meeting adjourned at half past ten.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Zabicki.*

*October 29***

Citizen *Shaw* was unanimously elected to the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary**** reported that having no addresses of the members of the Council he had written to five only. Citizen Howell had answered and promised that he would put in [an] appearance at the next meeting.

He read a letter from Mr. Miall containing an apology for his insinuations in the last [one], and a statement that [he] should consider himself entitled to open the letters of the Council though it was unlawful.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** No heading. The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 116-17 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* read letters from Digne (Basses-Alpes) and Bonneville, the writers of which asked [for the] Rules as they intended to establish branches of the Association.

It was proposed by Citizen *Lessner*, and seconded by Citizen *Hales*, and unanimously carried that Citizen Jung write to Lausanne to inquire about the Minutes of the late Congress.

The Secretary was instructed to ascertain the price of printing 1,000 copies of the Rules of the Association.

Mr. Bradnick was unanimously accepted as delegate from the Elastic Web-Weavers' Association.

Mr. Weston, through the medium of Mr. *Hales*, apologised for his absence and promised to come in future.

It was proposed that the present secretaries should, including the General Secretary, form the Standing Committee. Carried.

Citizen *Fox* stated that we required constant information about the labour movement in the United States and [that] the best mode to get it would be to get our correspondents Wholly and Jessup to furnish us with newspapers. Wherever a social movement takes place, Jessup gets papers from all parts of the country. Jessup was a tried man. He doubted that Wholly would turn out to be equally good. If he was and our funds run short we might confine ourselves to one. But at present we ought to enter into arrangements with both. We should have to send papers in return, but what? He thought the weekly *Bee-Hive*, the fortnightly *Cooperator*, and the *Industrial Partnership Record*[225] would answer the purpose. They would amount to 4s. 4d. a month.

Citizen *Jung* said he was ready to second the proposition but before doing so he wanted to know what use was going to be made of the papers we should receive.

Citizen *Fox* was willing to have that question settled first.

Citizen *Hales* spoke in favour of the scheme. He thought

it was the business of the Council to get the information to supply it to the Continent.

The Council adjourned at half past ten.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Fox, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney, Zabicki.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

November 5

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

It was agreed to have a thousand copies of [the] Rules printed.***

The Secretary was instructed to have the bill sent by Mr. George Potter, charging for more than double the number of *Bee-Hives* received, rectified.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter was read from Locle apologising for the delay caused in printing the Congress reports. It stated that the resolutions were ready and should be sent.

The Geneva papers had stated that the Council of the Reform League had passed a resolution in favour of Fenianism and that the government had commenced a prosecution against its authors.[226]

The college authorities of Locle had fallen out with Professor Guillaume; he [is] in danger of losing his place.

Lyons. The old branch had divided itself into two. The

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 117-20 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** See p. 182 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

one party was in favour of taking an active part in political affairs, the other was of a different opinion. The writer considered Schettel a good soldier but not a general. Palix is secretary of the new branch. A third branch has formed itself at Lyons under the title of Independent Group. It desires to correspond directly with the Council and requires [the] Rules. They will send their contributions together with the other branches.

Rouen. A letter [was read] announcing that 60 new members had been admitted.

Marseilles. A letter [was read] announcing a satisfactory increase, and the establishment of a bureau at Marseilles. Vasseur has been attacked by the clerical journals since his return from the Congress. Will send their contributions on the last day of the year.

Geneva. The Carpenters' Society has amalgamated its benefit fund with the International Association, the same as the joiners. The plasterers have amalgamated their fund in like manner.

Chaux-de-Fonds. More groups of co-operative watchmakers have been formed under the auspices of the Association. Also a society of mainspring-makers. They will all pay contributions to the General Council.

The title of the third Lyonnese group gave rise to some conversation.

Citizen Jung was instructed to advise the adoption of a more neutral title.

Citizen *Fox* announced his intention to resign his American secretaryship to free his relation with the *Bee-Hive*. Had the Council possessed funds to pay him for his trouble it would have been better that his articles should have come from the Association. But as the Council could not pay, he must do it in the service of the *Bee-Hive*. He had some Council members on his side; his aim was to widen the platform of the *Bee-Hive*, and [he] must disregard the majority of the Council if it should be against him.

Citizen *Jung* said it was anything but handsome on Fox's part to have availed himself of his position as American Secretary to obtain information and enter into relations and now to tell the Council: You are too poor to pay me, I go to the *Bee-Hive*.

Citizen *Marx* said we ought to have used more precaution in the first instance. We ought to have entered into an agreement about our reports. They now appeared inside amongst the miscellaneous news. Fox had only been attacked about one passage in the American Congress report.* There was no other fault committed. We had nothing to do with Fox's articles unless he wrote against us.

Citizen *Shaw* had never heard anybody blame Fox for writing for the *Bee-Hive* except the Congress report already mentioned which had done the Association some injury. Had the Council asked the *Bee-Hive* directors whether they would pay us for our reports, they might have done so. He was sorry for what had taken place.

Citizen *Fox* gave notice of the following motion:

That this Council directs its American Secretary to correspond with Mr. J. C. Wholly, President of the National Labour Union, Washington D.C., and to send him the weekly *Bee-Hive,* the bi-monthly Manchester *Cooperator,* and monthly *Industrial Partnership Record,* praying him in return therefor to send the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate* and any other working-class journals which are of a nature to give the General Council the information which it desires to have concerning the working-class cause in America.

The Council then adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Howell, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Stepney.**

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* See p. 159 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

November 12

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read a letter from Mr. George Potter concerning the number of *Bee-Hives*, of the 14th and 21st of September, sent to the office of the Association.

The matter was left in the hands of the Secretary to deal with.

Fox's letter. A long letter was read from P. Fox reaffirming his resignation as American Secretary and making some charges against the conduct of the chairman of the last meeting, the silent endorsement of the said conduct on the part of the Council members, and repudiating the statements made by Citizen Jung at that meeting.

Citizen *Jung* said that he had told Citizen Fox to his face what he had considered wrong and he ought to have replied then.

The members present were of opinion that what had taken place at the last meeting did not justify such a letter as that sent by Citizen Fox.

It was agreed to refer the matter to the Standing Committee.[227]

Citizen *Jung* stated that the working men of Geneva had held a mass meeting and adopted an address to the Italians calling upon them to rise *en masse*. A concert had also been given for the benefit of the Garibaldi fund.[228]

The engravers of Geneva were announced to be on strike.

Several professors were making arrangements for the establishment of a free school in connection with the Association, where mathematics, geometry, and book-keeping should be taught.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 120 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Morgan* proposed Mad. Huleck as a member of the Council.

Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Lessner* seconded that the Fenian question be discussed on Tuesday, November 19. Unanimously carried.[229]

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Maurice, Morgan, Shaw.

The first copy of the Congress Minutes[230] was received. Also three papers from Mr. Jessup in America: the *Work-[ing]man['s] Advocate,* Chicago, the *Welcome Workman,* Philadelphia, and the Pittsburgh *Weekly Advocate.*

Read and adopted on December 17.

H. JUNG
G. ECCARIUS

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL AND MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE ASSOCIATION**

November 19

Citizen *Weston* was unanimously elected to take the chair.

The *Secretary*** read the resolution from the Minutes of the previous Council meeting, fixing the order of the day for the 19th, [it] being the discussion of the Fenian question.

The *Chairman* said: I think the Council has acted wisely in determining the discussion of this question at this time, and I have no doubt that it will receive the attention it merits.

He then called upon Citizen Jung to open the discussion.***

Mr. *Jung* said: When I proposed that this question should

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 121-22 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** Here a newspaper clipping is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

be discussed I thought an expression of opinion on the part of the Council of this Association was desirable. I am no abettor of physical force movement, but the Irish have no other means to make an impression. Many people seem to be frightened at the term "physical force" in this country, yet even English agitations are not free from its influence. The Reform League has accomplished much by way of moral force, but it was only under a threat that physical force might be resorted to on the occasion of the Hyde Park meetings[231] that the Government gave way. I should be sorry to find the working men of this country go wrong upon this question. They have been right upon every other. The Irish require more than simple reform. Some endeavours have been made to divert the attention of the work-people of this country with regard to the Fenians. While they are denounced as murderers, Garibaldi is held up as a great patriot; and have no lives been sacrificed in Garibaldi's movement? The Irish have the same right to revolt as the Italians, and the Italians have not exhibited greater courage than the Irish. I may not agree with the particular way in which the Irish manifest their resistance, but they deserve to be free. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. *Lessner* said: Our Association is not confined to any particular nationality; we are of all nations, and the Irish question concerns us as much as any other. In the course of twenty years the Irish population has dwindled down from eight millions to five and a half millions, and this decline is in consequence of the British rule. No country can be prosperous with a declining population. Ireland declines at a rapid rate, and the Irish have a right to revolt against those who drive them out of their country; the English would do the same if any foreign power oppressed them in a similar manner. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. *Dupont*: The Council would be wanting in its duty if it remained indifferent to the Irish cause. What is Fenianism? Is it a sect or a party whose principles are

opposed to ours? Certainly not. Fenianism is the vindication by an oppressed people of its right to social and political existence. The Fenian declarations leave no room for doubt in this respect. They affirm the republican form of government, liberty of conscience, no State religion, the produce of labour to the labourer, and the possession of the soil to the people. What people could abjure such principles? Only blindness and bad faith can support the contrary. We hear that those whom the English law is going to strike down for their devotedness to such a cause are exclaiming: "We are proud to die for our country and for republican principles." Let us see of what value the reproaches are that are addressed to the Fenians by the English would-be liberators. Fenianism is not altogether wrong, they say, but why not employ the legal means of meetings and demonstrations by the aid of which we have gained our Reform Bill? I avow that it is hardly possible to restrain one's indignation at hearing such arguments. What is the use of talking of legal means to a people reduced to the lowest state of misery from century to century by English oppression—to people who emigrate by thousands, to obtain bread, from all parts of the country? Is not this Irish emigration to America by millions the most eloquent legal protest? Having destroyed all—life and liberty—be not surprised that nothing should be found but hatred to the oppressor. Is it well for the English to talk of legality and justice to those who on the slightest suspicion of Fenianism are arrested and incarcerated, and subjected to physical and mental tortures[232] which leave the cruelties of King Bomba,* of whom the would-be liberators talked so much, far behind? A citizen of Manchester, whose domicile was invaded by constables, asked one of them to show his warrant. "Here is my warrant," he replied, drawing a pistol from his pocket. This shows the conduct of the English

* Ferdinand II.—*Ed.*

Government towards the Irish. Without having right on their side, such conduct is enough to provoke and justify resistance. The English working men who blame the Fenians commit more than a fault, for the cause of both peoples is the same; they have the same enemy to defeat—the territorial aristocracy and the capitalists. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. *Morgan* thought it was rather unfortunate that the Irish had chosen the name of Fenians, which many Englishmen considered synonymous with all that is bad. Had they simply called themselves Republicans, they would have shut up at once all those Englishmen who profess to be in favour of Republicanism. Englishmen as a rule did not look as favourably upon things in their own country as in other countries. They applauded insurrection abroad, but denounced it in Ireland. Deeds that would be considered as heroism if committed in France, in Italy, or in Poland, would be stigmatised as crimes in Ireland. The Irish had every reason to have recourse to physical force. Moral suasion had never been used towards them by the British Government; it had always applied to the robe and the musket. The English ought at least to look as favourably upon the Irish as upon the Italians. Were they treated in the same manner by a foreign power they would revolt sooner than the Irish. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. *Lucraft* said the question was not whether the Irish were justified in using physical force, but whether they could do any good by it. He thought they could not. He thought it rather strange that the Irish of London, for instance, had not made common cause with the English and Scotch in the reform agitation.

Mr. *Weston* thought the word Fenianism meant the heat produced by centuries of oppression, and the hatred engendered by it, which could not be cured by the concessions of reform which the English demanded for themselves. A government that had trampled upon the rights of a people could never be reached by moral suasion, but by physical

force resistance. In England there was no need of bludgeons, but in Ireland moral force had not [had] fair play. The rescue of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester was an exact duplicate affair of the rescue that was now attempted by the British Government of the prisoners held in Abyssinia.[233] If killing was murder to rescue prisoners in Manchester, it was murder in Abyssinia; if it was wrong in one place it was wrong in the other. The crime of starving the Irish was far greater than the accidental killing of one man in trying to rescue the Fenian prisoners. He did not believe in the justice of the law. The laws were made and administered by hostile partisans, and there was a possibility of finding an innocent man guilty. He thought Ireland had been governed with more heartlessness than any other country, and he was glad that the Irish question had come uppermost. The democracy of the sister kingdoms must take the matter up and redress the wrong. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. *William Parks* said that the Irish in Ireland, in America, and in England were all of one opinion,—they wanted Ireland for the Irish, and to govern themselves.

Citizen *Jayet* argued in a speech of some length that physical force resistance was a bounden duty for every people who was oppressed by tyrants, were they of home or foreign origin, and showed that this was laid down as a maxim in the constitution of the French Convention, of which Robespierre had been a leading member.*

Upon the proposition of Dr. *Marx*, the discussion was adjourned to Tuesday next.**

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Lucraft*, it was agreed after some discussion, and the Standing Committee with the chairman of the meeting were instructed, to draw up a

* Jayet's speech is recorded in handwriting.—*Ed.*

** Here the following sentence is crossed out: "The Standing Committee was instructed to draw up a memorial to the Home Secretary on behalf of the Fenian prisoners now under sentence of death at Manchester." The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

memorial to the Home Secretary concerning the Fenian prisoners under sentence of death at Manchester and present it to a special meeting of the Council for adoption on Wednesday, November 20.*

*SPECIAL MEETING***

November 20, at the Office 16, Castle St., East W.

Citizen *Weston* in the chair.

The following memorial proposed by the Standing Committee was unanimously adopted:

MEMORIAL OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[234]

To the Right Hon. Gathorne-Hardy, her Majesty's Secretary of State.

The memorial of the undersigned, representing working men's associations in all parts of Europe, showeth:

That the execution of the Irish prisoners condemned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of England upon the European Continent. The execution of the four prisoners resting upon the same evidence and the same verdict which, by the free pardon of Maguire, have been officially declared, the one false, the other erroneous, will bear the stamp not of a judicial act, but of political revenge. But even if the verdict of the Manchester jury and the evidence it rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would now have to choose between the blood-handed practices of old Europe and the

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 122-23 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

magnanimous humanity of the young Transatlantic Republic.

The commutation of the sentence for which we pray will be an act not only of justice, but of political wisdom.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

CHAIRMAN
SECRETARY for America
" " France
" " Germany
" " Switzerland
" " Spain
" " Poland
" " Holland
" " Belgium

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Hon. Gen. Secretary

Citizen R. Shaw was appointed unanimously as American Secretary.

Members present: Eccarius, Dupont, Jung, Lafargue, Marx, Maurice, Shaw, Weston, Lessner.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

Read and adopted December 17.

*COUNCIL MEETING**

November 26

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

Resumption of the debate on the Fenian question.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 124-25 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Marx* stated that he would give up his parole in favour of Citizen Fox.

Citizen *Fox*, in [a] long speech, stated that the Irish under the leadership of D. O'Connell had been the originators of moral force agitation, but that the English Government had forced them to change their tactics; that in consequence of the absence of political life in this country, Fenianism had drifted into open hostility towards England; that Fenianism was the vindication of the Irish nationality in the face of the English, and that the Irish oligarchy, unlike the aristocracies of other countries, was anti-national. That the unsettled state of Ireland was a constant danger to the relations between England and America, and that Irish influence in the States was prejudicial to the British working men who emigrated to America, and that the Irish question also prevented England from taking her proper stand upon the Polish question. The English dominion over Ireland was as ruinous as the Austrian dominion over Italy. He concluded by moving [the following] resolution:

"That this meeting desires that a settled peace and amity between the British and the Irish nations should be substituted for the war of seven hundred years between Englishry and Irishry; and with a view to that end this meeting exhorts the friends of Irish nationality to bring their cause before the British people and advises the latter to accord an unprejudiced hearing to the arguments advanced on behalf of Ireland's right to autonomy."[235]

Citizen *Yarrow* seconded the resolution and endorsed what Citizen Fox had stated regarding American affairs.

Citizen *Cohn* thought there was a difference between England [and] Austria. Ireland was on the road to America and might interfere with British commerce if it came into other hands.

After some conversation in which the Chairman, Citizens *Marx*, *Eccarius*, *Weston*, and *Jung* took part, it was agreed

upon the proposition of Citizen *Cohn* that the resolution be referred to the Standing Committee.[236]

The meeting then adjourned.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

December 17[237]

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meetings were severally read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Jos. Hart, Goswell Road, desiring to become a member.

Citizen *Jung* volunteered to see him.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Maurice* seconded that the Rules be printed, Citizen *Marx* offering to advance the money if not [enough] should come in.[238] Carried.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Paris stating that the Committee had decided to clear up the debt of last year. Counting 300 members, their obligation would amount to £4 12s. Deducting £2 10s. for expenses incurred, they hoped the Council would not object to taking £2. They wished to have it brought before the Council and to have an early answer. They would then try to collect some money and send it as soon [as] possible.

It was agreed that the Council*** had power to abate the amount due, and Citizen *Shaw* undertook to inform the French Secretary of it.

Citizen *Jung* also announced that the engravers of Geneva had joined the Association.

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* Here the following sentence is struck out: "Members present: Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw." signed.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 125 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Further the words "could not" are crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Secretary was then called upon to read the resolution respecting the Fenian question proposed by Citizen Fox.*

The resolution having been read, Citizen *Jung* said that he wished to say a few words before the question was entertained. He said it was desirable that Citizen Fox should be present and to enable him to do so, he would retract what he had said about Fox having committed a dishonest act, and he moved that the consideration of the resolution be postponed.

This was agreed to and the Secretary instructed to communicate it to Citizen Fox.

The Council then adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw.

MATTHEW LAWRENCE, Chairman**
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING****

December 31

Citizen *Lawrence* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Lawrence* stated that in consequence of having resigned the secretaryship of the Tailors' Association he was free to attend the meetings of the Council and would do all that lay in his power to promote the objects of the Association. He also thanked the Council on behalf of the

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* See p. 181 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Lawrence was in the chair at the meeting of December 31, at which the said Minutes were read and confirmed.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 126 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Tailors' Association for the assistance rendered during the strike.[239]

Citizen *Jung* stated that he had been to see Joseph Hart but that he was not in town.

From Switzerland he announced that the engravers of Geneva had joined the Association and that two bakers had entered into a contract to supply the members of the Association with bread at a lower charge than the general selling price.

The resolution of Citizen Fox was, on account of his absence, again postponed.

Citizen *Dupont* announced that domiciliary visits had been made by the Paris police at some of the members' houses.[240]

The Council then adjourned.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lawrence, Lessner, Maurice, Zabicki, Huleck, and Mrs. Huleck.

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

1868

*COUNCIL MEETING**

January 21, 1868, at 16, Castle Street, East W.[241]

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Dupont* stated that he had not received any direct communication from Paris, but that a letter received by the French branch here showed that the regular correspondence on both sides must have been seized by the police. The Parisian members who have been summoned to give an account of themselves will employ no lawyers.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Geneva appealing for help for the engravers and jewel case-makers who are on strike. The strike had taken place with the consent of the Geneva Committee.

The French Secretary** was instructed to write to the Paris bronze-workers and inquire whether they had repaid any and what loans to the English trades societies, and solicit them to refund the money as soon as they could, as the non-payment might prove an obstacle to raising funds for the engravers of Geneva.

Citizen *Jung* then proposed and Citizen *Dupont* seconded that members be appointed to go on deputation. Carried.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 127 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Dupont.—*Ed.*

Citizens Dupont, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, and Shaw were appointed, Citizen Shaw to be the secretary of the deputation.

Citizen Neemeier was admitted as delegate from the French branch.

Citizen Meyerson was nominated to become a member of the Council by Citizens *Jung* and *Lessner*.

Mr. and Mrs. Huleck were nominated by Citizen *Morgan*, seconded by *Dupont*.

It was then agreed that the following questions be submitted to the affiliated societies for discussion:

1. Organisation of credit. Co-operative exchange. Paper money from a practical point of view.
2. Machinery and its effects.
3. Technical and comprehensive education.
4. The advisability of drawing up a programme of rational education.
5. Land, mines, canals, highways, and railways; ought they to be private or public property and worked for the benefit of private individuals or for the profit of the community.
6. The policy of strikes and courts of arbitration.[242]

The Council then adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, Maurice, Neemeier, Shaw.

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

January 28

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 128-29 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ELECTION OF NEW MEMBERS

E. Meyerson, Huleck, and Mrs. Huleck were elected as members of the Council.

Louis Lefeuvre was nominated by Citizen *Dupont* and seconded by Citizen *Jung*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Dupont* related that a bookbinder having come from Geneva to Paris and required funds to commence work, the Paris bookbinders had, upon the recommendation of the Geneva section, made the necessary advances. It was the first case of international credit.

Citizens Tolain and Chemalé had baffled the *juge d'instruction* by demanding distinct overt acts to be brought forward on the part of the prosecution.

In Belgium our members endeavoured to resist the conscription.

The French branch announced that it had resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the February revolution on the 24th, in Cleveland Hall.[243]

REPORT OF DEPUTATIONS

The Shoemakers' Executive had inserted the statement respecting the Geneva engravers' strike in their monthly report.

Citizen *Jung* was well received by the shoemakers in Fetter Lane; he thought they would [do] something.

Citizen *Shaw* found nobody at the King's Head. Lessner was ill.

Citizen *Dupont* protested against the resolution to have only two names printed on the Rules.[244]

It was agreed that 1d. be charged for the Rules, but a copy sent free to each secretary.

The following circular[245] was adopted to be sent to the secretaries and members of the Association.*

Citizens,—As the General Council intends issuing a report on the present state of the working population, you are desired to furnish whatever authentic information you may be able to procure respecting the state and the condition of the work-people of your respective localities, if possible within a month. The secretaries of the affiliated trades societies will oblige by answering the following questions:—1. The name of society? 2. The number of its members? 3. What are the customary hours of labour? 4. What is the customary rate of wages? 5. Is employment constant or fluctuating? 6. What number has been out of work during the last three months? 7. Are those in work fully employed? 8. Has any advance or reduction of wages taken place within the last five years? 9. Has co-operative production been tried, and with what success?

The Council will esteem it a favour if, in addition to answering these questions, they can give any other information, either about their own or any trade in particular, or of the state of the working population in their neighbourhood in general, and whether any special endeavours are being made to improve the condition of the poor and with what success.

The following address has also been sent in the form of a circular letter:

To the Members of the International Working Men's Association.

Fellow working men! With the view of eliciting an unmistakable expression of opinion from the great body of the members of the International Working Men's Association, the last Congress recommended the Council to submit

* Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive* No. 331, February 15, 1868, containing the circular and the address, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

to you the following questions for deliberation, and we solicit your favour to return your conclusions respecting them at the earliest opportunity.

1. The practicability of organising a system of credit and co-operative exchanges—facilitated by the use of paper money—amongst the various associations of working men.

2. What are the effects of the use of machinery upon the condition of the labouring poor?

3. The advisability of drawing up a definite programme for the technical, and a comprehensive secular education of the children of the poor.

4. The land, mines, canals, highways, railroads, etc.; ought they to be the property of private individuals and worked for their personal profit, or would it be expedient to convert them into public property and work them for the community at large.

5. The policy of strikes, and the advisability of insisting upon the establishment of the courts of arbitration.

It will depend upon the answers returned to these questions, whether any of them shall form a part of the programme of the next congress to be held at Brussels in the first week of September next.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Hon. General Secretary

N.B.—Secretaries of trades societies and others who may be desirous of assisting in the furnishing [of] material for the intended report, are invited to send whatever they have to communicate to the Secretary of the International Working Men's Association, 16, Castle Street, E.W., London.*

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* consented to go as deputation to the bookbinders.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck and Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Morgan, Maurice, Neemeier, Shaw.

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS

*COUNCIL MEETING**

February 4

Citizen *Lessner* in the chair.

In the absence of the Secretary Citizen *Shaw* acted as secretary.

Citizen *Dupont* payed £2 contribution for the Marseilles branch for 1867.

Jung stated that he had seen in the papers that the Geneva strike was over.

The Secretary of the Day Working Bookbinders had replied that his society could entertain no deputation as there were two on already and a monthly meeting could grant five pounds.

Members present: Huleck and Mrs. [Huleck], Jung, Dupont, Shaw, Lessner, Maurice.

Chairman**
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING****

February 11

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the two last meetings were read and confirmed.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 130 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 130-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Geneva stating that the strike was over not altogether to the satisfaction of the men, but considering the unfavourable season they might have fared worse. The letter from London had not given much encouragement, but they thanked the Council for the steps that [had] been taken. Almost all the trades societies had now joined, and newspapers had been established in several places. They would soon send money.[246]

Belgium. The members hold numerous meetings about co-operation, universal suffrage, and to organise opposition to the law of conscription and agitate for the abolition of the standing army. New sections have been established at Liége, Verviers, and amongst the miners of Borinage. The finances are in an unsatisfactory state; they have much expense, but have no doubt that they will be able to pay their contribution. They have also received a letter from Guillaume of Locle announcing that the *compte rendu* is at last ready, but will cost two francs.[247]

France. Citizen *Dupont* read a letter stating that the inquiry before the *juge d'instruction* was not yet ended. There had been but four domiciliary visits, this was not enough for the prosecution,[248] so the police had summoned all the members of the Committee, including one who had never accepted and never attended. The judge was of opinion that English names on the Council list of the I.W.A. were men of straw, that it was only the revolutionary refugees who gave instructions to their friends how to act. It was a secret society with a public platform. The Paris members sought to obtain the control over the French workmen for revolutionary purposes. Rothschild has received notice to quit. In default of any punishable offence the accused expect to be punished for their sentiments.

The Marseilles branch consists of 280 members.

Citizen *Jung* was instructed to send the translations of the circulars to Switzerland and to instruct the German Secretary of Geneva* to get them published in as many papers as he could.[249]

It was further agreed that Citizen Dupont have the questions on the circular and some Congress resolutions printed for transmission to France.[250]

Citizen *Lawrence* gave notice that on that day fortnight he would move some resolutions respecting credit institutions for the working class.[251]

The Council then adjourned to Tuesday, February 18.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Lawrence, Neal, Maurice, Shaw.

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING***

February 18

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Chaux-de-Fonds section has formed co-operative stores under the title of *La Prévoyante* and asks for the addresses of British manufacturers of shirtings, muslins, and other stuffs for women's dresses, and Coullery adds that we should send patterns. All purchases made with

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* Becker.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 132 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ready money. Coullery wants to know whether London is asleep.

The Secretary* was instructed to communicate the substance of the letter to Rochdale Pioneers' Co-operative Society.[252]

Belgium. The government wants 2,000 more soldiers and requires several millions for war purposes; the section has protested.

It was agreed that Maurice be paid £1 on account of rent.

Nomination. Mrs. Morgan nominated by Citizen *Shaw*, seconded by Citizen *Huleck*.

Citizen Williamsen, by Citizen *Huleck*, seconded by Citizen *Morgan*.

On account of the tailors' general meeting[253] the Council adjourned to Wednesday, February 26.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Mrs. Huleck, Huleck, Maurice, Morgan, Lawrence, Neal, Shaw.**

*COUNCIL MEETING****

February 26

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mrs. Morgan and Citizen Williamsen were admitted as members without a dissentient.

Citizen *Milner* presented credentials as delegate of the National Reform League and paid 2s. 6d. as the second half of the annual contribution for 1867. The delegate was admitted by unanimous vote.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 132-33 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter [was read] from the West End boot-closers, answering the questions[254] and offering to pay the first quarter's contribution, but it must be fetched.

Mr. P. Shorrocks writes from Manchester that the work-people in that town have little faith in London, but he will endeavour to get adhesion to the International and information for the report.

REPORT OF DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Huleck* had an interview with the N. W. branch of the boot-makers, but the meeting was not numerous enough to decide the question of affiliation. Has no doubt they will join.

Citizen *Jung* was well received by the City Women's Men. They joined, are 400 strong, and will send a delegate.

Citizen *Lawrence* had received a letter from the Corresponding Secretary of the International Tailors' Union of America, in which the readiness is announced to enter into a tailors' union extending throughout the world; the London tailors on the previous night had endorsed the sentiment and instructed their secretary to continue the correspondence[255]; and Citizen Lawrence thinks if the most important passages of that letter be made known on the Continent it may induce other trades to follow.

Citizen *Jung* desires to hear the letter before any action is taken.

Citizen *Lawrence* gives notice that we call the attention of the Council to the subject at the next meeting.

The American Secretary* was instructed to write to Mr. Jessup at New York with a view to obtain information for the report.

The Council adjourned at 10:30.

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* Shaw.—*Ed.*

Members present: Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Lawrence, Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Morgan, Maurice, Shaw.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 3

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** reported that the New London Society of Basket-Makers had paid their first quarter's contribution for 300 members. The Kendal shoemakers had paid their annual contribution for 40 members. Letters were read from the Lynn branch and the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council referring to the circulars.[256]

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from the *Voix de l'Avenir* from which it appeared that the building trades of Geneva are trying for a rise of wages of 10 per cent upon the present average of 3 fr. 60 c. per day.[257] A letter from Belgium in the same paper states that several important societies have joined and others are about to join the Association. A co-operative society of agriculturists is preparing to emigrate to America and to establish a communistic colony there.[258] The Belgian section intends to issue an address to the British workmen about the Fenians.[259] The Belgian section is stated to be 4,000 strong.

In Zürich a proposition has been carried into law for the canton, by the agency of the members of the Association,

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 133-33a of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

that no measure carried by the legislature can have the force of law until approved of by a vote of the electors.

Citizen *Huleck* announced that he had made overtures to the portmanteau- and trunk-makers, and that the society was ready to receive a deputation.

It was agreed that a deputation consisting of Citizens Milner, Lessner, and Jung be sent.

Citizen *Huleck* stated on behalf of Citizen Morgan that a shoemaker had presented himself to the Cordwainers' Association pretending to be delegated by a Paris society but having no credentials; he would move that the French Secretary* be instructed to make inquiries. Agreed.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Huleck and Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Maurice, Neemeier, Shaw.

The Council adjourned at half past 10.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING***

March 10

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Paris about the trial of the members of the Paris Committee. The hall had been filled by the members of the Association. Various questions had been asked of the members of trades societies. Citizen Chemalé had demanded to know the indictment; the judge had refused unless the accused would employ lawyers,

* Dupont.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 133a-33b of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

which they had refused to do. The writer of the letter supposed that the result was known in London, which was not the case. A new committee had been elected on the previous Sunday consisting of Bourdon, Varlin, Malon, Combault, Mollin, Humbert, Landrin, Granjon, and Charbonneau.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Mrs. Morgan, Milner.

The Council adjourned at 9 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 17

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting not being ready, the reading of them was postponed to the next meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from Coullery was read in which he complained of hearing no news from London; the circular was not in the last number of the *Voix de l'Avenir*. Application was made again for patterns.**

The *Secretary**** undertook to write to Halifax.

The section had made an appeal to the clerks and railway officials to form an association and join, which they seemed inclined to do. Police officials not wanted.[260] The

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 133b-33c of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 192-93 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

engravers have joined the Association, and the German section wants to amalgamate with the French.[261] At Basle, a new branch was to be opened.[262]

DEPUTATIONS

The deputation had been well received by the trunk-makers; the question was to be brought before the next general meeting.

Citizen *Lawrence* was then called upon to open the discussion of which he had given notice. He said the credit question was rather a difficult subject to approach. He was hardly prepared to propose anything practical. The question ought to be discussed in all its bearings and the conclusions arrived at embodied in resolutions. The object was to offer increased facilities for co-operation. There were two kinds of co-operation: that of retailing the products bought wholesale, and the other of production. The former was carried on with ready money and required no credit, but the latter required credit in the course of production. All the other classes of producers could give a marketable value to their produce by means of securities and credit before the produce itself was ready to realise its market price. The trades societies and others of known wealth and acknowledged integrity ought to make their business to guarantee the paper of solvent co-operative societies. An insurance society upon the principles of Lloyd's would enable co-operative societies to obtain credit without trouble. Without credit co-operative production would not acquire the dimensions it was destined to attain. To bring the question fully before the working classes he would move the following resolution: "That the subject of credit societies for the assistance of productive co-operative societies be considered by the Council with a view of

issuing an opinion on the matter from this Council to the working classes."

Citizen *Neal* seconded the motion. He thought the matter was worth taking up. There were difficulties to contend with, but these things must be taken up by someone. They might appear utopian at the outset but, if perseveringly advocated, they [would] succeed in the end. He alluded to [the] enormous amount of wealth produced annually and its unequal distribution, as detailed by Leone [Levi] and Baxter [Langley], and said it was hardly conceivable that [the] wage-receiving class, a large number of whom were organised and accumulated large sums, should hand these sums over to the rich who used them for their own purposes. He believed that this money could [be] applied for the redemption of the oppressed. The capitalists had gained their position by the organisation of their credit institutions and the working classes could not do better than imitate them.

Several members having spoken in favour of the motion, it was unanimously carried, and the debate adjourned.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lawrence, Lessner, Neal, Milner, Maurice, Mrs. Morgan, Shaw.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 24

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read and confirmed.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 133c-33d of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

CORRESPONDENCE

The *Secretary** read a letter from Citizen Walton on the credit question and another from Nottingham acknowledging the receipt of the circular, Rules, and Addresses.[263]

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from the *Voix de l'Avenir* about the building trades. They want to discuss their differences with their employers. They require a reduction in the number of the hours of labour from 12 to 10 hours and an increase of wages per hour.[264]

Citizen *Hales* stated why his society had not replied to their circular; the questions had been discussed, and he would furnish the conclusions next week.

Belgium. A co-operative society is to be established at Brussels. L'Union, a working men's association, has joined the Association.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Morgan, Maurice.

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Hon. Gen. Sec.

*COUNCIL MEETING***

March 31*

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Burns of Halifax sent 12 stamps to be enrolled as a member of the Association. In his reply to the letter concerning the patterns to Chaux-de-Fonds he stated that

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 133d-33e of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** An error in the original: "March 30" instead of "March 31". —*Ed.*

none of the productive associations were sufficiently advanced in their business transactions to undertake it and he advised the Council to communicate with Mr. Owen Greening of Manchester. He also suggested the establishing of an international co-operative agency.

Citizen *Lucraft* volunteered to write, and the Secretary* was also instructed to write.

France. A letter was read from Rouen enclosing eight shillings as contribution for 100 new members. The branch is prosperous and rapidly increasing. Preparations are being made to publish a periodical. The correspondent wants to be put in communication with some English spinners.[265]

An application was received from Avignon for the authorisation of [a] new branch.

Citizens Dupont and Eccarius were appointed to investigate the enclosed rules of the appellants and to grant the application if they consider it advisable.

From the Paris section it was announced that they would continue as if nothing had happened and if the government felt inclined to persevere in the prosecutions they would furnish more victims.

Extracts were read from the *Voix de l'Avenir* to the effect that a lock-out of building trades had taken place at Geneva. The condition put by the capitalists is renunciation of the Association.[266]

Many lying statements were read from English papers, which gave rise to a long conversation. Deputations were appointed to wait upon trades societies and the Secretary instructed to write to some to ascertain when and where deputations would be received.

The *Secretary* agreed to draw up a statement of the facts of the case to be sent to all the daily papers and submitted for approval on Friday evening.[267]

The Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.[268]

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Maurice, Milner, Mrs. Morgan, Shaw.

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

April 7

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read letters, [one] from Mr. Owen Greening stating that the co-operative societies were not sufficiently advanced to supply the goods required, but he would send patterns from other sources and would be glad to give his office in London for an international agency. The other from Birmingham promising a report.

Jung read a letter from Switzerland respecting the lock-out. The masters have tried to provoke disorder but in vain. They had called a meeting of German Swiss to sever them from the French-speaking ones, but after four hours' discussion and speeches the German Swiss could not be gained.

The Genevese had sent a delegate who had brought some papers from which it appeared that the masters were not as unanimous as had been asserted.[269]

A deputation had attended the Council of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners and had been well received.

At the bookbinders, through a mistake, the case could not be brought forward.

At the French branch*** signatures were obtained amounting to 30s. a week.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 133e of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** In London.—*Ed.*

In Paris Varlin has published an appeal.

In Switzerland the societies are doing their best.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Maurice, Shaw.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

April 14

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary**** announced that the West End ladies' boot-makers would receive a deputation on the 20th. The West End cabinet-makers had replied they were too poor to grant anything for the Genevese but they would pay their subscription. These were all the answers received to nine letters.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Geneva showing that great provocation had been used to incite a quarrel and disorder [so] that the Federal Government might interfere.[270] The writer approved of the action taken by Citizen Varlin at Paris.

Another letter from Varlin to the Geneva delegate stated that £60 had been obtained from one society and £80 from another. £20 had been received from the Amalgamated Carpenters in London. Varlin had inserted an appeal in the *Opinion Nationale* in the name of the Association and signed by himself on behalf [of] the new committee.[271]

The Rules and platform of the Social Party of New York were received.[272]

Citizen *Jung* had been well received by the cigar-makers

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 133f of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

and also by the elastic web-weavers who granted £5, voted unanimously. He had also written to the *Voix de l'Avenir*, a fortnight ago, but it [had] not yet been inserted. The same notice, which appeared in the London papers of Saturday, of the termination of the Geneva dispute appears in the *Voix de l'Avenir*.[273] The men will in future only work 11 hours a day with a rise of 10 per cent upon the former wages per day.

Citizen *Lessner* reported that he had had to combat some objections at the Trunk-Makers' Society. The secretary prevaricated a good deal, and it was at last resolved to join, but not to take effect before July.

Citizen *Hales* reported that he had written to several trades societies in the provinces to join.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Maurice, Shaw.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

April 21

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Letters were read from the Bund Deutscher Männer[274] announcing that £1 had been granted for the workmen of Geneva; another from the Secretary of the Sunday League respecting the hiring of an office,[275] and one from the Secretary of the Coach-Trimmers announcing the withdrawal of that society.

Upon the proposition of Citizen *Lessner*, seconded by Citizen *Milner*, it was agreed that the Secretary should

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 133g of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

write to the coach-trimmers to inquire for the reason of their withdrawal.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Morell and state what kind of accommodation was required.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Jung* had received a letter on Friday which stated that the masters had thought that the men would refuse the terms proposed, which would have put them in a false position. Instead of opening their shops on the 13th, most of the masters refused to take back their men.[276]

DEPUTATIONS

Attended the Hatters, was well received and had no doubt that something would be done if a written statement was sent.

The City Women's Shoemakers do not meet till a fortnight's time. The City Men's Men numbering about 150 members will discuss the question of joining. It was proposed that £2 be given to the Geneva workmen, which was carried.

Citizen *Lessner* had sent circulars to several German societies, the result of which was that the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein had subscribed £1 11s. 4d.; £1 3s. from the Hanoverians, other sums were got elsewhere.

Marseilles. The branch has written to Dupont how to act under existing circumstances. The old committee had resigned, a new one has been appointed, but in case the Council desires the old committee to resume they are willing to do so.

The Council thought the matter ought to be left to the discretion of the members of Marseilles.

A letter from Citizen Chemalé of Paris stated that he had appealed against the decision of the court; the appeal will be heard on the 22nd. A member of the Association had absconded from Paris with various sums belonging to co-operative societies.

An appeal has been published to the Paris workmen to aid the Genevese, signed by delegates of various trades of Paris.[277]

The members of the I.W.A. in Belgium have furnished the prosecuted miners with counsel.[278]

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Milner, Maurice.

GEO. ODGER, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

April 28

Citizen *Odger* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** reported that the organ-builders and coach-makers had consented to receive deputations in favour of the Genevese. The No. 1 Lodge of the O.B.S. required eight blank cards. The Secretary [having stated] that new cards were wanting, the question was postponed.

A report on the condition of the poor of Birmingham, sent by Mr. Mac Ral, was received.

Citizen *Jung* read some extracts from a Belgian paper, the *Tribune*, showing that the coal-[owners] had reduced the wages while they divided 15 per cent net profits. Many

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 133h of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

of the soldiers had shot over the heads of the people. A medical practitioner and his son had rendered great assistance to the wounded. A committee from the International was getting up evidence for the prisoners.[279]

The People's Union of Anvers has joined, and the Free Workmen of Verviers have voted to join.

A letter from Locle stated that the Congress report was ready, that the cost was £25 and [that] Citizen Guillaume wanted to know whether the Council could pay it at once.

Citizen *Eccarius* stated that the Council was not in any way responsible for the expense, the printing having been undertaken at the instigation of the French-speaking delegates. The Council was only responsible for a certain number of copies.

Citizen Jung was instructed to reply to that effect.

A pamphlet on the Geneva lock-out came to hand, which costs 3d.[280]

Paris. The bronze-workers have only reimbursed the French branch and the tailors in London. Elsewhere they have paid off more, in all £800.[281]

Chemalé's appeal has been adjourned. The new committee meets without concealment; the government does not know what to do.

The newly established branch at Avignon requires a recognition that may be published; they will do everything publicly.

The Lyonnese complain that they have received no answers to their letters.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Milner, Lessner, Maurice.

The Schweizer-Gesang-Verein sent £1 6s. for Geneva; the City Men's Men of the Shoemakers paid their contribution—£1 14s. 2d.

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

May 5

Citizen *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Jung* was well received at the Silver Cup carpenters, but they are too poor to grant money. He also waited on the Hatters' Committee; a majority had voted against granting money because the funds were low and they had already a weekly levy. The bookbinders put questions about the French branch** and about the political character of the Association. He had stated that Dupont had written his private opinion about the Hyde Park demonstrations and that the celebration of the anniversary of the last revolution was the act of the French refugees in London. This explanation was considered satisfactory[282]; they voted a loan of £10 for Geneva. [Jung] had not received the money yet from the shoemakers in the City.

Citizen Jung met accidentally a member of the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers, who stated that the Council was inclined to join, that the question was on the programme, and he advised this Council to send a delegate to the next conference.

A letter was read from Mr. Owen Greening at Manchester, stating the reasons why no patterns had been sent for La Chaux-de-Fonds.

Cards. It was agreed that 500 new cards be printed. The old form of the card was then modified and Citizen Jung deputed to get the order executed.[283]

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 133i of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The French branch in London.—*Ed.*

House in High Holborn, London, where the General Council held its meetings from June 1868 to February 1872

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

May 12

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** announced that the organ-builders had sent six months' contribution for 42 members. The cigar-makers inquired how much they were in arrears.

DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Jung* stated that he had received a letter from the Secretary of the Cigar-Makers advising not to press a deputation for Geneva at present.

Citizen *Marx* proposed that as the Belgian Government has dragged this Association into the miners' affair, an official denunciation of that government ought [to be] published by the Council. Seconded by *Maurice* and carried unanimously.

Citizen Dupont was instructed to write to Belgium to obtain the facts of the case.[284]

Citizen *Lessner* proposed, *Dupont* seconded, that the Secretary write to the Executive of the Amalgamated En-

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 133j of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

gineers to inquire whether they would receive a deputation from this Council at their next conference.

The Council then adjourned to Tuesday, May 19.

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice.

Chairman*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

May 19

Citizen *Cohn* in the chair.

He made a statement respecting the reasons that had prevented him attending of late. His society has voted the new contribution. Upon the questions sent by the Council, the cigar-makers have appointed a committee of six to report upon them.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary**** read a letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League respecting office accommodation. Eccarius, Lessner were deputed to wait on the Council of the Sunday League on Thursday. The deputation was instructed not [to] enter into any arrangements if the rent be more than £1 1s. a month.[285]

CORRESPONDENCE

Marseilles. The branch thinks it has been neglected by the Council of London. Want to know the number of members of the Association. Are going to forward the second instalment of contributions. Want rules of co-operative

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 133j-34 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

societies, and are going to discuss co-operation. They also sent the list of the newly elected committee.

The French Secretary* was instructed to reply and refer them to the Congress Minutes for number of members, etc.

It was further agreed that as many members as could, should bring rules of co-operative societies to the next meeting.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mrs. Morgan, Maurice, Shaw.

Chairman**
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL****

May 26***

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Eccarius reported that the Sunday [League] had agreed to the terms proposed, and that Mr. Morell would bring a copy of the agreement.

Citizen *Jung* reported that he had waited on the City shoemakers on behalf of the Geneva strike, but they had been too busy with other things. He had also seen the bookbinders. He thought the contribution would be carried but they would not send a delegate.

A letter from Geneva stated that the dispute was at an end. Most trades had resumed work on the conditions

* Dupont.—*Ed.*
** Unsigned.—*Ed.*
*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 134-35 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*
**** An error in the original: "May 25" instead of "May 26".—*Ed.*

agreed upon in April. The locksmiths and tin plate-workers had reduced their hours to 10. The master joiners had made a "log" which the men resisted. If it came to a strike no foreign aid would be required. 1,260 members had joined the Association since the lock-out. Paris had sent 10,000 francs.

A letter from Brussels stated that De Paepe was too much occupied at present to write himself, therefore somebody else wrote.[286] A few particulars were mentioned concerning the iron and the coal trade. De Paepe will send papers.

The nine members of the new Paris Committee have been sentenced to one month's imprisonment and 100 fr. fine with one month's grace.[287] The main points of the prosecution were the telegrams sent from London to prevent [men] from coming [when] strikes have been on in the various trades.

Citizen *Dupont* proposed that the Swiss Secretary be instructed to write to Guillaume to inquire the reason why Paris had received Congress reports and London not, also to demand the written Congress documents. Agreed.

The *Chairman* suggested that an address of denunciation be issued against the French and Belgium governments. Agreed.

Citizens Marx, Jung, and Dupont were appointed as a committee to draw up the address.[288]

Citizen *Marx* gave notice that he should move a resolution concerning the meeting of the next Congress which could not meet at Brussels as the alien law had been renewed.[289]

Mrs. *Huleck* announced that a Paris shoemakers' society had entered into an alliance with the English Amalgamation of Cordwainers.

Citizen *Jung* nominated and Mrs. *Huleck* seconded Citizen Jules Johannard to become a member of the Council.

Mr. Morell came, but had lost the agreement.

The Council adjourned [at] 10:30 to 256, High Holborn on Tuesday next.

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Shaw.

GEO. ODGER, Chairman

*MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL**

June 2 at 256, High Holborn

Citizen *Odger* in the chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Cohn* paid six months' contribution for the London Cigar-Makers' Association, £1 9s.

The *Chairman* read the agreement with the Sunday League.

Citizen Johannard was unanimously voted a member of the Council.

Citizen *Jung*. Belgium. When the Belgian minister asked the Chamber of Deputies for the renewal of the alien law he spoke of the International Association as stirring up discontent in Belgium. The Belgian branch has replied to his statements.[290] The Brussels Committee had called a public meeting at Charleroi to enjoin the miners to form a trades society and join the International[291]; a section was established. The Free Workmen of Verviers have joined.[292]

Citizen *Jung* proposed the following resolution:

1. Considering, that the Belgian Parliament has just prolongated for three years the law by which every foreigner may be expelled [from] the country by the Belgian executive government;

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 135-37 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

2. that the dignity of the I.W. Association is incompatible with the meeting of the Congress at a place where they would be at the mercy of the local police;

3. that Article 3 of the Rules of the I.W.A. provides that the General Council may, in case of need, change the place of meeting of the Congress;

the General Council resolves that the Congress of the I.W.A. do assemble in London on the 5th of September, 1868.[293]

Citizen *Dupont* seconds it.

Citizen *Cohn* thought that the decision might be postponed to see whether or not some other place could be found.

Citizen *Odger* urged to insist upon attempting to hold the Congress there, to raise the question in such a manner that it could be taken up in the House of Commons. He thought that a few might be sent when the time came to make preparations for the Congress to see what the government would do.

Citizen *Jung* had no objection to an adjournment but was determined to press the resolution next week. We could reckon upon no favour from any government, and a discussion in the House of Commons might come too late and be of no avail.

Paris. From Chemalé. The new committee has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and 100 fr. fine to be paid within a month. Chemalé's appeal has not yet been heard. Chemalé separated himself from the rest to try the legal question whether the correctional tribunal had jurisdiction over him. The question having [been] decided against him he will have to submit to the sentence; his case will come on June 5, 1868. He wants to know what the Council is going to do about the meeting of the next congress. Thinks he shall come to London. A monthly review is to be established.[294] [On] April 27 a second domiciliary visit was made at his place.

Citizen *Besson* announced that he had received £4 contribution from Belgium and that 8,000 miners had joined the Association at Charleroi. The miners are very eager to hear something of the General Council. The Belgian papers which inserted the address to the miners[295] were sold in thousands in the mining districts. They want the address of our American Correspondent. The Committee wishes to know whether we would receive the seven papers which are in favour of our Association, that the Council may see what they are made of.[296]

Citizen *Jung* proposed that the address of our correspondent in America be given to the Belgian Secretary for transmission to the resident Americans of Brussels and that in our next correspondence we mention the fact to our American correspondent. Seconded by *Besson*. Agreed.

The papers to be received.

Members present: Besson, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mr. Morgan, Maurice, Odger, Shaw.

GEO. ODGER, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

June 9

Members present: Buckley, Hales, Johannard, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Mrs. Morgan, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Odger, Maurice, Jung, Lucraft, Milner, Besson.

Citizen *Odger* was unanimously appointed to take the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 137-39 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary** announced that he had received 7s. 6d. for cards sent to Number 1 Lodge of the Bricklayers' Society and a letter from the Secretary of the Engineers** stating that no conference will be held this year but that the subject of our letter will be laid before the General Executive when it meets. He also corrected some errors made in the verbal statements of the contents of two letters from Brussels.

Citizen *Jung* announced that a branch had been formed at Nyon in Switzerland[297]; he also read the following list of s[ections]....***

Adjourned question of the Congress.[298]

Citizen *Jung* thought that it would be better to postpone the question for another week and ask the opinion of the Belgian section.

Citizen *Odger* reiterated his former opinion and thought our best course would be to abandon the resolution. He was of opinion that two men should be sent when the time came and if it was forbidden it would do more [to] strengthen the Association, while a temporising policy would weaken it.

Citizen *Jung* said he cannot possibly withdraw the resolution. In the event of Odger's advice being followed there would be no congress.

Lessner. Would remind the Council to consider what they have to decide; the Council would be held responsible for the consequences. The money would be wasted.

Odger replied that instead of wasting money it would be economised. In the event of two men being sent and sent back the Congress could still be held in London; it could not result in a breaking up of the Association. They

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** Allan.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes break off here; the end of p. 137 is left blank, evidently for the purpose of listing the 23 Geneva sections. The Minutes are continued on p. 138 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

might imprison the men for a few days; this would not break up the Association.

Eccarius said that [the] duty of the Council was to see that the Congress was held. It could not be held at Brussels under existing circumstances nor did [he] believe that it would be a success in London. He was in favour of having the advice of the Belgian section.

Odger thought it would be bad policy to ask the Belgians and to let them know that we have an intention not to hold the Congress at Brussels.

Jung said that if the Congress was not removed, the Belgian Government would wait until the Congress assembled, and we would have to send the delegates home or provide the means to bring them to London.

Lucraft. Did not believe that the question could be tested in the way proposed. The government would wait till the Congress was together. If we forced it, we might put the Belgians in a wrong position. A small congress in London would be quite as influential abroad as one held in a smaller place. The London press went through all the world. We should ask the opinion of the Belgians.

Odger recapitulated his view and spoke against asking the Belgians' advice.

Mrs. Law. It seems the general opinion [is] to test the question if we had the means. To test this point ought to be part of our business; we should not throw it upon any section; and [she] is against asking the Belgians.

Hales is in favour of removing the Congress without asking the Belgians. If a more central place could be found on the Continent, let it be held there; if not—in London. The former congresses were Continental congresses, then let us have an English one. Thinks it is idle to hope anything from the British Parliament. If we violated Belgian laws we would have to stand the consequence.

Odger. If the Congress meets, there will be some talk; if it is stopped, there would be some talk too. The raising

of the question would be worth more to us than the Congress.

Dupont. The duty of the Council is to see that the Congress do take place; the Rules provide for doing so. We are responsible if the Congress do not take place. The Belgian law has been renewed for the purpose of preventing the Congress, it is a French law.

Lessner says a noise will be of no use.

Milner. Thinks the main idea is to hold the Congress without interruption. There has not yet been a fair chance of fully expressing what the International is to accomplish. To contest the right of holding it, is to lead us off our track.

Hales looks upon the Congress as something more than [a] talking match. It is to elucidate opinions and to come to a common understanding.

Huleck. The point raised is a better representation of the British elements. After the defeat in Belgium we would have a better congress here.

Vésinier. The Belgian law against foreigners is not new. It enables the government to expel a foreigner as soon as he lands. The only freedom that is unlimited in Belgium is the liberty of meeting. Wants the Council to ask the Belgians. If the French delegates said anything in Belgium they would be taken up on coming home; they will be served the same if they go to London. The English and Americans would probably not be molested.

Agreed that the Belgian Secretary be instructed to write to Brussels and ask the opinion of the Committee there.

Citizen Limburg was admitted as delegate of the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein.

Copeland [was] nominated by Mrs. *Law*, seconded by *Hales*.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

June 16

Members present: Buckley, Besson, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Huleck, Stepney, Mrs. Huleck, Jung, Lafargue, Johannard, Lessner, Marx, Maurice.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and confirmed.

Citizen Copeland was unanimously voted to become a member of the Council.

CORRESPONDENCE

June 9, Paris. Slowness of legal proceedings and much business [are] pleaded as an excuse why no official announcement has been made of the last trial. The condemned are to be held solidarily responsible for the fine. They have appealed against the sentence. The letter is signed by the whole Committee.[299]

Belgium. The Carpenters' and Joiners' Association of Antwerp and the Affranchis[300] of Jumet have joined. Two large meetings have taken place, one at Brussels, the other [at] Liége; the middle-class press denounced our Association. The Paris correspondent of a paper belonging to the Peace League has written an article on our Association and says that everything nowadays becomes international.[301] He blames the French Government for its prosecution.

The answer to a letter from Brussels urges that the Congress be held in Belgium and that the existence of the Association in Belgium depends upon it.

Citizen *Besson* proposed that two numbers of the *Bee-Hive* [be exchanged] against the Belgian working men's papers. Seconded by *Dupont*. Agreed.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 139-40 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ADJOURNED DEBATE

Citizen *Marx*. When I proposed three weeks ago that the Congress should be moved, several things which have since transpired were unknown. The law against foreigners is a general law. The minister has provoked us to resistance by declaring that the Congress should not take place. Our section has declared it shall meet in spite of the government, and it is for us to back them. I therefore withdraw my resolution.[302]

Citizen *Johannard* said that he had altered his opinion but desired that instructions be given to all the delegates not to leave such as may be meddled by the police in the lurch but to offer a joint resistance.

Citizen *Dupont* said that but for a letter which he had received from De Paepe he would still have adhered to his former resolution, but the French themselves are willing to go to Belgium and the Belgians promise them protection.

Citizen *Maurice* raised the question of making some compensation to the Secretary.

Citizen *Hales* proposed that accounts be audited. *Lessner* seconded.

Citizen *Johannard* proposed as an amendment that the Secretary receive 15s. a week, objection being made on account of the state of the funds.

Citizen *Hales* withdrew his former proposition and proposed that the Secretary be paid £5 in a lump and that a further grant be made when the funds permit it.

Lafargue proposed as [an] amendment that £5 be given now for past services, and 15s. a week after.

Citizen *Johannard* assents to Lafargue's proposition.

Hales's proposition was carried unanimously.

H. JUNG

*COUNCIL MEETING**

June 23

Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Cohn, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Maurice, Johannard, Hales, Limburg, Stepney.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read a letter from Citizen Shaw dated St. Leonard's on the sea. Citizen Shaw tendered his resignation as Treasurer and American Secretary.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and *Lessner* seconded that the resignation be not accepted. Unanimously carried.

The General Secretary to officiate as American Secretary during Shaw's absence.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter was read from Algiers stating that the branch established there was at an end in consequence of all the members but one having left for France. The writer complained that workmen were brought over from France to work against his friends. The Paris prosecutions were mentioned as a cause of discouragement. He requests to be informed of all that.

Germany. Dr. Reincke, a member of our Association, had been elected by the Rhenish workmen to the North German Parliament and made there the proposition that the Parliament have the right to appoint commissions of in-

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 141 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

quiry. The proposition was rejected and he has in consequence resigned. When elected he promised to push the social question and, not being able to fulfil his promise, he resigned.[303]

The compositors of Leipzig have written many letters to the Paris compositors, only one of which was delivered. This letter stated that national differences must be left to the possessors of wealth, for the wages-slaves such differences must not exist.[304]

Switzerland. The shoemakers of Geneva have opened their business.[305]

Proposed by Citizen *Maurice*, seconded by Citizen *Hales*, that a deputation be sent to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the insurrection of June. Agreed.

Members proposed: Hales, Jung, Lafargue, Copeland, Mrs. Law, Cohn. Carried.[306]

The *Secretary* raised the question of inviting delegates from the Labour Reform Association in America.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, *Lafargue* seconded, that the Secretary be instructed to invite delegates from that association. Carried unanimously.[307]

A conversation then arose about the drawing up of the Congress programme and an address to the trades societies.

Citizen *Copeland* proposed and Citizen *Marx* seconded that Citizen Hales draw up a draft of an address and present it at the next meeting. Citizen Lafargue to do the Continental part. Agreed.

The meeting adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

H. JUNG

*COUNCIL MEETING**

June 30

Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Lessner, Marx, Lafargue, Stepney, Mrs. Law, Limburg.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

CORRESPONDENCE

Belgium. The Belgian section declines to be responsible for a letter of Vésinier which has appeared in the *Cigale*. If the letter was published with the knowledge of the Council, it is an imprudence. If without the knowledge of the Council, it is highly reprehensible on the part of Vésinier who has no business to publish the transactions of an executive meeting of the Association. They also protest against the animus shown against some of the members. They do so to leave no doubt, since it might be considered that the section had something to do with the publication. They are also going to publish a protest in the *Cigale*.[308] They acknowledge the services rendered by Vésinier amongst the miners.

Dupont proposed, *Hales* seconded, that an extract from the Minutes of the 9th be sent to Brussels. Agreed.

Citizen *Jung* stated that *Lloyd's* contained a paragraph announcing a new strike at Geneva.[309]

REPORT ON THE ADDRESS TO THE TRADES SOCIETIES

Both** drafts were read and Citizen Copeland appointed to fuse them into one.***

The Council adjourned at 10:30 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 142 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Before the word "Both" the words "Lafargue's was read" are crossed out in the original.—*Ed.*

*** See pp. 319-23 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 7

Members present: Copeland, Eccarius, Johannard, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Mr. Morgan, Stepney, Marx, Maurice, Jung, Buckley, Hales, Lucraft.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

Belgium. The Belgian ministry has directly interfered with the Association by telling the manufacturers of Verviers to dismiss the workmen belonging to the Association. The *Espiègle* declares that the International has applauded Félix Pyat. They do not believe it, but if it be the case, they will declare that they have nothing in common with the ideas of the French branch.[310]

Citizen *Marx* stated that this would be detrimental to our Association abroad and he left it to the Council to take some action.

Citizen Marx proposed that a declaration be made that the Association was not responsible for an incident at a public meeting, and that Félix Pyat who read the address in question was not even a member.

Seconded: *Maurice.*

Resolved. That the General Council of the I.W.A. repudiates all responsibility for the address delivered at the public meeting in Cleveland Hall by Félix Pyat, who is in no way connected with the Association.[311]

Paris. Our members have entered upon their imprisonment. They are going to publish the trial in pamphlet form;

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 142-43 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the workmen of Paris have collected £80 for the purpose.[312] They intend to draw up a manifesto for the Congress. They urge the Council to publish the programme immediately for the purpose of inducing the workmen of Paris to send delegates to the Congress. They have not considered it advisable to elect a third committee.

A programme with questions for the Congress has been published by the Belgian section. There is to be a local delegate meeting to arrange the preliminaries.[313]

The address was adopted with a few verbal alterations and the Secretary instructed to revise it and get it printed.[314]

The Standing [Committee] was summoned for the following Saturday to draw up the programme for the Congress.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 14

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Johannard, Huleck (Mrs.), Marx, Mrs. Law, Shaw, Meyerson, Copeland, Cohn, Milner, Lucraft, Limburg, Stepney, Mrs. Morgan.

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

Marx. The Prussian Government has suppressed the Berlin branch of the General Working Men's Union. The so-

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 143 and 145-46 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ciety is going to hold a conference at Hamburg about the middle of August.[315]

Switzerland. The Geneva Committee has issued an address to the members of the Association about the prosecution of the Paris Committee.[316] The address was read.

[A] Lucern branch has been established.

Cigar-makers of Murten have struck because they were refused extra pay while working at bad material. They have established a co-operative factory.

Marx. The English Government has quietly, a month after the Russian decree, struck off the list of pensioners the title Polish refugees. They have not withdrawn the pensions but wiped out the reason why they were granted.

Citizen *Marx* proposed and *Copeland* seconded the following declaration:

The Council of the I.W. Association denounces the last manifestation of the subserviency to Russia of the British Government by suppressing the adjective "Polish" before the word "refugees" in the budget one month after the Russian Government had by an ukase suppressed the name of Poland.[317]

Citizen *Lessner* proposed that the Secretary be paid 15s. a week till the Congress. Seconded by *Johannard.* Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Cohn* proposed and *Lessner* seconded the following resolution:

The Council hails with delight the passing of the eight hours' labour bill by the American Congress believing that it will lead to eight hours becoming the future normal working day of the United States.[318]

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE[319]

First proposition—to reduce the contribution to the Council to one halfpenny.

Jung, Lessner, and *Eccarius* spoke in favour; *Lucraft* and *Milner* against.

Mrs. *Law* wanted to know whether the individual members had to pay or whether it came out of the funds.

Cohn and *Hales* stated it came out of the funds in their societies.

Shaw said in some instances levies were made. *Huleck* spoke against the proposition.

Hales against the proposition. Withdrawn.

2. Reduction of the hours of labour. Carried.

3. The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists. Carried.

4. Property in land. Carried.

5. Education of the working class. Carried.

6. The establishment of credit institutions with the view of promoting and facilitating the social emancipation of the working class. Carried.

Citizen *Hales* proposed and Citizen *Lucraft* seconded that another proposition be added: The best means to establish co-operative production.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 21

Members present: Buckley, Eccarius, Copeland, Jung, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Mrs. Law, Weston, Milner, Stepney, Johannard, Besson, Dupont.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** asked permission to have 500 more of

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 146-47 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

the Addresses printed. He had taken upon himself to order a thousand at 16s.; they were already disposed of.[320]

The permission was granted.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Marx*. Germany. The General Working Men's Union is going to do in a round-about way what the Prussian law prohibits to be done directly. There is another working men's union in the Southern and Eastern States of Germany which has some affiliations in Switzerland; they also are going to join.[321] A new paper, *Le Réveil*,[322] published by Ledru-Rollin's party, makes favourable comments upon the International Association.

Citizen *Jung* expressed his satisfaction that that party was obliged to come to us instead, as they had supposed, we [were] going to them.

The *Secretary* mentioned that he had not yet received any papers from Belgium.

The Secretary was instructed to write.

Citizen *Marx* proposed that the Congress questions be discussed [at the] next meeting and that the question about machinery takes precedence of all the other questions. Seconded by *Jung*; agreed.

Belgium. Citizen *Besson* read a letter which contained the following proposition: To report upon the condition of all trades in every country.

Credentials were presented by *Marie Bernard* as the delegate of the house painters on the Brussels Committee.

Citizen *Jung* proposed that the secretaries be instructed to state in their respective letters to urge their correspondents to answer the questions submitted to them.[323]

Citizen *Marx* thought it required caution; it would be impolitic to state publicly that nothing had been done.

Citizen *Dupont* thought that if we simply stated that the

statistical inquiry was still open and invited the sections to send answers by their delegates to the Congress, [it] would satisfy the Belgians.

Citizen *Jayet* thought it was time that the delegates received positive instructions how to act. The Council ought to know what the societies do and they must know what the Council is about.

Dupont believed that the question was about the appendage proposed by the Belgian section.

Citizen *Marx*: I am not against the proposition but it depends upon the form in which it is published.*

Citizen *Dupont*. The French papers were seized by the police, and that the work could not be finished this year.

The following resolution was then agreed to:

"The Council reminds the different sections that the statistical inquiry is still open and that those branches whose labours are in a sufficiently advanced state shall lay them before the next Congress."

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING***

July 28

Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Mrs. Morgan, Huleck, Mrs. Huleck, Stepney, Weston, Meyerson, Hales, Milner, Johannard.

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* Here the following is crossed out: "That those branches which have not yet answered the questions are requested to send their answers to the Co. . . . before the Congress . . . lay the result of their inquiries."—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 148-49 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

Germany. Citizen *Marx* read two letters from Leipzig, one from W. Liebknecht, the other from August Bebel, President of the Working Men's Unions of Saxony and the Southern States of Germany. They invite a deputation from the Council to attend their conference at Nürnberg where the question of the affiliation of the whole of the 100 societies is to be decided.[324]

Citizen Marx announced also that he had received an invitation from Vienna (where the working men are going to celebrate the fraternisation of the working men of all countries) to send a representative to be present.

Citizen *Lafargue* proposed, *Copeland* seconded, that Peter Fox André be appointed.[325] Agreed.

Citizen *Marx* proposed that a delegate be sent to Nürnberg if the funds permit. Seconded by *Cohn*. Carried.

Citizen *Jung* read an address from the Social-Democratic party of New York to the workmen of Geneva.[326]

France. A letter from Marseilles stated that warning had been published to the masons of Marseilles not [to] go to Algiers. They ask for the Congress programme and declare that they will adhere steadfast to the Association. The letter announced the sad event of Vasseur's death.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from the French branch concerning the disavowal of the proceedings at Cleveland Hall.

Citizen *Lafargue* proposed the order of the day.[327]

Eccarius seconded the proposition.

Carried by 14 against 5.

Citizen *Dupont* proposed that Citizen Johannard be appointed Secretary for Italy; seconded by *Lafargue*; 9 for, 4 against.

Huleck moved, Mrs. *Morgan* seconded, the adjournment of the question for a week. Six for the amendment, 10 against.

Dupont's proposition was carried by 9 against 4 votes.*

An address of the Social-Democratic Union to the working men of Geneva was communicated, which contains the following passage:

"Working men,—Your struggle is also ours. Throughout the so-called civilised world society divides itself, more or less, into two opposing camps of oppressed and oppressors, workers and drones, poor and rich. The struggle between these two parties is inevitable. The social question no longer recognises geographical frontiers, nor national separations. It is everywhere the same, and it is for this that we applauded the foundation and the development, and approve the action of the International Working Men's Association."

The discussion of the proposition, "The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists", was opened by Citizen *Marx*.[328] He said what strikes us most is that all the consequences which were expected as the inevitable result of machinery have been reversed. Instead of diminishing the hours of labour, the working day was prolonged to sixteen and eighteen hours. Formerly, the normal working day was ten hours, during the last century the hours of labour were increased by law here as well as on the Continent. The whole of the trade legislation of the last century turns upon compelling the working people by law to work longer hours.

It was not until 1833 that the hours of labour for children were limited to twelve. In consequence of overwork there was no time left whatever for mental culture. They also became physically deteriorated; contagious fevers broke out amongst them, and this induced a portion of the upper class to take the matter up. The first Sir Robert Peel

* Here a newspaper clipping from *The Bee-Hive* No. 354, August 1, 1868, is pasted into the Minute Book. Corrections in the text are in Eccarius's hand.—*Ed.*

was one of the foremost in calling attention to the crying evil, and Robert Owen was the first mill-owner who limited the hours of labour in his factory. The ten hours' bill was the first law which limited the hours of labour to ten and a half per day for women and children, but it applied only to certain factories.

This was a step of progress, in so far as it afforded more leisure time to the work-people. With regard to production, the limitation has long since been overtaken. By improved machinery and increased intensity of the labour of individuals there is now more work done in the short day than formerly in the long day. People are again overworked, and it will soon become necessary to limit the working day to eight hours.

Another consequence of the use of machinery was to force women and children into the factory. The woman has thus become an active agent in our social production. Formerly female and children's labour was carried on within the family circle. I do not say that it is wrong that women and children should participate in our social production. I think every child above the age of nine ought to be employed at productive labour a portion of its time, but the way in which they are made to work under existing circumstances is abominable.

Another consequence of the use of machinery was that it entirely changed the relations of the capital of the country. Formerly there were wealthy employers of labour, and poor labourers who worked with their own tools. They were to a certain extent free agents, who had it in their power effectually to resist their employers. For the modern factory operative, for the women and children, such freedom does not exist, they are slaves of capital.

There was a constant cry for some invention that might render the capitalist independent of the working man; the spinning machine and power-loom has rendered him independent, it has transferred the motive power of pro-

Council Meeting July 28

Members present. Buckley, Copeland, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Mc Lay, Marx, Mr. Morgan, Hallock, Mr. Hallock, Stepney Weston, Mignon, Hales, Millner, Johannard

Cit Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read & confirmed

Correspondence. Germany. Cit. Marx read two letters from Leipzig one from W. Liebknecht the other from August Bebel president of the Working men's Unions of Saxony & the Southern States of Germany. They invite a deputation from the Council to attend their Conference at Nürnberg where the question of affiliation of the whole of the W. Societies is to be decided.

Cit Marx announced also that he had received an invitation from Vienna (where the Working men are going to celebrate the fraternization of the working-men of all countries) to send a representative & he presented.

Cit Lafargue proposed Copeland seconded that Wm Dax Cooke be appointed. agreed.

Cit. Marx proposed that a delegate be sent to Nurnberg if the funds permit. Seconded by Cohn carried

Cit. Jung read an address from the Social democratic party of New York to the Workmen of Geneva

France. A letter from Marseille stated that warning had been published for the masons of Marseille not go to Belgium. They ask for the Congress programme & declare that they will adhere steadfast to the Association. The letter announces the sad event of Vasseurs death.

Cit. Jung read a letter from the French branch concerning the disavowal of the proceedings at Cleveland Hall. (by 14)

Cit. Lafargue proposed the order of the day Eccarius seconded the proposition. Carried against 5.

Cit. Dupont proposes that Cit Johannard be appointed secretary for Italy seconded by Lafargue 9 for 4 against

Hallock moved seconded by Mr Morgan ~~that we discontinue &c or more till we get better~~ the adjournment of the question a week.

6 for the Amendement 10 against

Dupont proposition was carried by 9 against 4 votes

Page of the Minute Book (General Council meeting of July 28, 1868) with a motion by Marx that a delegate be sent to the Congress of the German Workers' Unions to be held at Nuremberg

duction into his hands. By this the power of the capitalist has been immensely increased. The factory lord has become a penal legislator within his own establishment, inflicting fines at will, frequently for his own aggrandisement. The feudal baron in his dealings with his serfs was bound by traditions and subject to certain definite rules; the factory lord is subject to no controlling agency of any kind.

One of the great results of machinery is organised labour which must bear fruit sooner or later. The influence of machinery upon those with whose labour it enters into competition is directly hostile. Many hand-loom weavers were positively killed by the introduction of the power-loom both here and in India.

We are frequently told that the hardships resulting from machinery are only temporary, but the development of machinery is constant, and if it attracts and gives employment to large numbers at one time it constantly throws large numbers out of employment. There is a continual surplus of displaced population, not as the Malthusian asserts a surplus population in relation to the produce of the country, but a surplus whose labour has been superseded by more productive agencies.

Employed on land machinery produces a constantly increasing surplus population whose employment is not fluctuating. This surplus flocks to the towns and exercises a constant pressure, a wage lowering pressure upon the labour market. The state of the East of London is one of the phenomena it produces.

The real consequences are best seen in those branches of labour in which the machine is not employed.

To conclude for the present, machinery leads on one hand to associated organised labour, on the other to the disintegration of all formerly existing social and family relations.

Citizen *Weston* said the previous speaker had only referred to machinery in the factory districts. In the car-

pentering trade the machine had not tended to lengthen the hours of labour. It did the most laborious part of the work, and tending the machine was not an exhausting occupation; he certainly thought he could do more in twelve hours than he could do in ten by extra exertion. If a man with a machine could do in ten hours what required ten days, if done by hand, this would not diminish the aggregate demand for labour. If it rained hats from heaven for people to wear for nothing that would not diminish the aggregate demand for labour. The surplus population resulted from the existing system of wages-labour.

*Eccarius** asked the question, if it rained clothes from heaven and the money now spent for clothes be devoted to the building of houses, the carpenters' and the masons' work done by machinery, how many superseded tailors would find employment in the building trade?

*Marx*** told Mr. Weston that he must consider the question of the hats being monopolised as the property of a capitalist.***

Upon the motion of Citizen *Milner* the debate was adjourned to Tuesday, August 4.

Chairman****
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING*****

August 4

Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Mrs. Law, Marx, Johannard, Lucraft, Weston, Hales, Limburg.

* Here Eccarius's name is inserted in place of the crossed-out words "a tailor".—*Ed.*

** Here Marx's name is inserted in place of the struck-out words "Another member".—*Ed.*

*** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

**** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

***** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 149-51 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Mr. John Holmes at Leeds who expressed his willingness to correspond with the Council.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter was read from Citizen Cowell Stepney enclosing £5 5s. towards the expense of the Congress.

The Day Working Bookbinders' Society paid their annual contribution [of] £1 15s.

A letter was read from Mr. John Holmes of Leeds expressing his willingness to correspond with the Council. He enclosed a report of a lecture delivered at Leeds, upon which the *Secretary* promised to report at the next meeting.

France. Paris. The prisoners[329] are well treated, they get all the papers, they can read and write as much as they like and receive visits whenever anybody wants to visit them. The appeal* costs more than £80 but it has been paid by the Association. Everybody seems to expect something to happen in 1869. The Congress programmes have been well received. Nearly all the papers have inserted. The *Tribune* and *Le Réveil* are going to have articles upon [them]. *Le Réveil* offers its services to the Association.

The third committee was not appointed a fortnight ago, it will consist of 15 members.[330]

Lyons. Complain that they are watched and that they cannot unite all the members of Lyons in one body. They adhere to their flag and state that considerable progress has been made in the neighbourhood. Lyons and Neuville are going to club together to send a delegate to Brussels,[331]

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* Reference is to the publication of the trial proceedings. See pp. 224-25 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

they will also send a delegate to Berne[332] to broach social reform. They have nominated a candidate for the next election.

Germany. Hanover. A strike of the power-loom weavers. They work 14 hours a day for nine shillings a week. Bakers' strike at Berlin; the commissioner of the police has inquired whether the army bakers would supply bread in case of a strike.

Credentials to Cowell Stepney to Brussels.

Secretary to get information about the expense of going to Brussels.*

Citizen *Stepney* presented a paper announcing** that a congress of philosophers is going to meet on the 16th of September at Prague, where the following propositions will be submitted:

"The exaggeration of work, and the painful pecuniary conditions, which affect the majority of men, constitute a fact unworthy of humanity and full of dangers for the future.

"Mendicancy, one of the greatest disgraces to humanity, must be abolished by the State and the communes; one must distinguish here between private assistance, that of societies and that of the State. It is necessary that those who cannot gain their livelihood be furnished with the indispensable objects for their support; and that on the other hand the idle be bound over to devote themselves to some useful occupation."

Citizen *Milner* resumed the debate on the proposition: "The influence of machinery in the hands of the capitalists". After a few words of approbation of the manner in which Citizen Marx had treated the subject on the previous night, and some allusions to Citizen Weston's assertions concerning things in the aggregate, he said he heard

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* Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive* No. 355, August 8, 1868, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The words "Citizen Stepney presented a paper announcing" are inserted in Eccarius's hand in place of the crossed-out words "A member of the Council".—*Ed.*

a clever Scotchman say the other day that if by some contrivance four men could be enabled to do the work of five this would be a clear gain in the aggregate, but he had not been able to answer the question what was to be done with the fifth man. The working man had nothing but his labour to depend upon as a means of subsistence. He had to sell his labour day by day, he could not do two days' work in one, and consequently every day that he could not sell his labour was a dead loss to him, it was an irreparable deduction from his means of subsistence, and any one thrown out by machinery might perish before he could be absorbed into other trades, or employed in his own in consequence of an increased demand, for the demands of life were incessant, the cravings of nature had to be satisfied every day. The fifth man might, according to circumstances, mean the fifth part of a trade, or the fifth of the working population. It was clear that all the benefits of modern inventions were in the hands of the few, and this would continue until the working men found means to employ themselves.

Citizen *Hales* said he had worked amongst machinery from his childhood, and his experience was that the ordinary influence of machinery tended to the displacement of manual labour. If the productive power of a certain kind of machinery was increased tenfold, the demand for its production in consequence of reduced price would at best increase twofold, and at least one-half of the men displaced would go to the bad, that was five out of every ten. Machinery had converted the labourer into an adjunct of the machine. The workman was a slave; he had to do his master's bidding, because the master held the means of the workman's subsistence in his hands. By the aid of machinery the labour of grown men was constantly displaced by that of women and children, so that machinery not only replaced manual labour but also transposed the individuals whose assistance was required. He was not against machin-

ery, but machinery must become the workman's assistant, instead of being, as at present, his competitor.

Citizen *Eccarius* said he would only make a few remarks upon Citizen Weston's speech of the previous night. Citizen Weston had observed that Citizen Marx had only spoken of the influence of machinery in the factory districts. Citizen Marx had done what every man of science did who wanted to exhibit the peculiarities of any subject. They always took the best developed specimens for their illustrations, and machinery was best developed in the cotton trade. In answer to the assertion that machine labour did not diminish the demand for labour in the aggregate, he read a few statements from a pamphlet published in 1844.[333] One of them was, that in a large machine shop at Manchester, one plaining machine, equal to fourteen men, requiring one man or a boy to direct it, had been introduced. In the same pamphlet there was a statement of a Stockport spinner who worked 672 spindles in 1840 earning 22s. a week, in 1843 he worked 2,040 spindles earning 13s. a week. Between 1833 and 1843 the productive powers of the cotton spinners had considerably more than doubled; the self-acting mule had dispensed with the services of spinners altogether, yet the available raw material of 1840 had not doubled until the year 1854, so that the aggregate demand for labour in the cotton trade must have been diminished considerably. There were many things connected with this subject which some people overlooked, and which never came to the knowledge of others. A hundred years ago, when Manchester had taken to manufacturing cotton, people died of starvation in the streets of the large towns in the East Indies in consequence. It has been computed that between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 of human beings perished in the East in consequence of the cotton trade being transplanted to Lancashire. The prosperous towns of the linen trade, Dundee and Leeds, had probably never heard the cries of agony that emanated for years from the famished

weavers of Silesia; a whole generation had perished there because flax was successfully spun by machinery in the north of this island. The carpentering trade was no criterion. To the people of New York, for instance, it would matter little whether the stuff of which their clothes were made was manufactured at Bengal, in Siberia, or at Manchester; but if the London reformers wanted a hall to meet in, that hall must be built in London, and by men who resided in London. If machines, attended by women and children, could erect stairs, lay floors, etc., at a distance ready for the use of the London people, Citizen Weston would, no doubt, have come to a different conclusion.

Citizen *Weston* said he would stick to his point. If all the hatters of London were superseded, their employers would be superseded also; the same fund would remain to pay wages with. (The possibility of the master hatter selling more hats than he does now, without employing journeymen to make them, is lost sight of.)

Citizen *Marx* replied in a few words, and said that the Congress had a right to discuss this question on its own merits.*

Mrs. *Law* said machinery had made women less dependent on men than they were before and would ultimately emancipate them from domestic slavery. She must enter her protest against the view taken of women's labour.

Citizen *Marx* offered to bring the conclusions arrived at in the form of a resolution.

Citizen *Eccarius* volunteered to open the discussion on the next question.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

August 11

Members present: Buckley, Copeland, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Stepney, Shaw.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** read extracts from the Chicago *Work-[ing]man's Advocate* concerning the presidential candidature and another from John Holmes of Leeds' lecture on labour and capital at Sheffield. John Holmes was appointed correspondent of the Association for Leeds.

The result of the inquiry concerning the expense of going to Brussels not being satisfactory, Citizen *Copeland* volunteered to get information from the Great Eastern.

Upon the motion of Citizen *Marx*, seconded by *Lessner*, Buckley and Copeland were appointed auditors.***

Citizen *Marx* read some extracts from a French paper concerning the International Congress.

Citizen *Jung* stated that the Viennese workmen had published an address urging international union.[334]

Citizen *Marx* proposed the following as the conclusion of the last discussion.[335] Seconded by *Jung*, carried.

Resolved: that on the one side machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism and extortion in the hands of the capitalist class;

that on the other side the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages-system by a truly social system of production.****

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 152-53 and 155 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

*** See p. 250 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

**** Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive* No. 358, August 22, 1868, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* read a report of the last conference of the National Labour Union of America. The conference rejects the election platforms of both the great parties, and has issued a platform of its own, the first resolution of which declares "that the producers are the most important portion of all communities". It demands that as the loans fall due the bonds should be exchanged for bonds bearing three per cent interest, and convertible into legal-tender notes at the option of the holders; that only those bonds, redemption of which in gold was specially stipulated, should be paid in coin; and further, that the notes of the national banks should be withdrawn from circulation and replaced by legal-tender treasury notes. If either of the candidates of two great parties for the presidency should adopt this platform—no matter which—the conference advises the working men to vote for him. If neither adopts it, the Congress of the National Labour Union, which will assemble on the third of next month at New York, is to nominate an independent labour candidate for the presidency, and urge upon the working men of the United States the necessity of rallying to his support.[336]

Citizen *Eccarius* then opened the debate on the reduction of the hours of labour question. He said: Forty years ago a man working twelve hours a day would have received sufficient for making a dozen pair of trousers to support a family for two weeks. In 1863 Mr. Lord visited a shop in Whitechapel where a young woman, with a machine and three female assistants, by working long hours, made a dozen pair of trousers a day, for which they received, after deducting sewing trimmings, 8s. In 1861 there were 12,000 females employed in the tailoring trade of the metropolis, 3,000 of whom never worked less than 14, frequently 16, or 18 hours a day, occasionally all night, for 7s. to 10s. a week. I know, from good authority, that there are practices quite as bad in other trades where women and children

are employed, but they have not come under any personal observation. A law was passed in 1867 to put a stop to this abomination, but it is a sham. The same Parliament that added £3,000,000 a year to our permanent expenditure could not afford a few thousands for a staff of workshop inspectors to enforce its own law. I think it high time that those of my friends who take an active part in electioneering should interrogate the candidates about this matter. He then proved, from government statistics, that the development and increase of the powers of production in our staple trades had far outstripped the increased demand for labour or the increased number of persons employed. In the ten years, from 1850 to 1860, the raw material consumed in the cotton trade had increased 103 per cent; the export of yarn 52 per cent; that of piece-goods 104 per cent; the number of persons employed 12 per cent. In the stocking trade an increase of 344 per cent of the exports had led to an increase of persons employed of 30 per cent. The foreign wool retained for home consumption had increased 97 per cent; the export of yarn 99 per cent; piece-goods 20 per cent; the persons employed 1 per cent. A very considerable increase of production had taken place since then; the number of persons employed had positively diminished. In proof of this he read a statement from Dr. Marx's work on political economy,[337] whose figures are all based on government returns, according to which the number of adult persons employed diminished by 1,700 between 1856 and 1862; but the number of children under 14 years of age had increased. The produce of the coal-mines had increased 43 per cent; the number of persons employed 34 per cent; that of the iron mines had increased 55 per cent; the number of persons employed 6 per cent. The produce of the lead mines had increased 5,000 tons; the number of persons employed had diminished by 2,000. The exportation of machinery had increased 266 per cent;

the number of persons employed 43 per cent; and with a progressive increase of exports the Society of the Amalgamated Engineers had on an average 2,000 members out of employment on the funds every day during the year 1867. In the rural districts the diminution of labourers employed had been going on continuously during the last thirty years. He thought this was a sufficient reason why the working classes should insist upon a general reduction of the hours of labour. Another reason was that all the medical inquiries that had taken place proved that the working population was greatly overworked. Two remarkable phenomena had established this beyond a doubt. When the cotton famine had set in,[338] the death-rate in the cotton districts had greatly diminished. Again, last winter, when the population of St. George's-in-the-East had been in a state of semi-starvation, the death-rate, which was usually higher than in any other metropolitan district, had fallen almost below the most favoured districts. This was inconvertible evidence that full work, which was synonymous with overwork, was more destructive to life than privation. He then pointed to the increase of wealth that had lately taken place, which led him to the conclusion that society could very well afford to pay the labourer the increased wages, which would be the inevitable result of a general reduction of the hours of labour.

Citizen *Milner* could not take the same view of the subject. A general reduction of the hours of labour, however desirable, meant a diminution of the production of wealth; the opposition it would encounter from those who had amassed large fortunes out of other people's labour would be too great for the working classes to overcome. He thought a rise of wages could easier be obtained; the reduction of the hours of labour would follow that.

Citizen *Marx* could not coincide with Eccarius,* that it

* Should read: Milner.—*Ed.*

would lead to a diminished production,* because where the restrictions had been introduced, the instruments of production had been vastly more developed than in other trades. It had the effect of introducing more machinery, and made production on a small scale more and more impossible, which, however, was necessary to arrive at social production. The sanitary question was settled. But a reduction of the hours of labour was also indispensable to give the working class more time for mental culture. Legislative restrictions were the first step towards the mental and physical elevation and the ultimate emancipation of the working classes. Nobody denied, nowadays, that the State must interfere on behalf of the women and children; and a restriction of their hours led, in most instances, to a reduction of the working time of the men. England had taken the lead, other countries had been obliged to follow to some extent. The agitation had seriously commenced in Germany, and the London Council was looked to for taking the lead. The principle had been decided at former congresses; the time for action had arrived.

Citizen *Copeland* thought the condition of the working classes would be ameliorated by a reduction.

Citizen *Weston* did not think that any effort on the part of the Council would result in an improvement.

Citizen *Lucraft* was of opinion that the question ought to be agitated.

On the motion of Citizen *Shaw*** the debate was adjourned to Tuesday next.***

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* The words "diminished production" are inserted in Eccarius's hand in place of the crossed-out words "an increased demand for labour".—*Ed.*

** The words "On the motion of Citizen Shaw" are in Eccarius's hand.—*Ed.*

*** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

August 18

Members present: Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Johannard, Limburg, Lessner, Lucraft, Mrs. Law, Marx, Milner, Weston.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.**

The Secretary read*** a letter from Mr. Jessup, corresponding representative of the National Labour Union of America for the state of New York, **** in which the writer expressed regret that no provision had been made for the expense of a delegate to Brussels, and could not be made in time. Respecting the bricklayers' strike of New York, Mr. Jessup states that it is looked upon as the grand struggle for the enforcement of the eight hours' law for the state of New York, and that the working men of the United States were never so united as they now are to support the New York bricklayers. Up to July 30 the bricklayers received 20,000 dols., and the sums pledged to be remitted when called for amounted to 150,000 dols. Besides, the men had taken 25 contracts for new erections, alterations, and enlargement of buildings, amounting in all to 300,000, dols.*****

Mr. Jessup stated that none of the letters written by Citizen Shaw had come to hand. He suggested that in future letters should be exchanged at regular intervals. He requested that the reports of the proceedings of the Congress be forwarded to him and promised to return the com-

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 155-56 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive* No. 358, August 22, 1868, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The words "The Secretary read" are in Eccarius's hand.—*Ed.*

**** The words "for the state of New York" are in Eccarius's hand.—*Ed.*

***** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

pliment by sending the reports of the annual session of the Labour Union.

The Secretary was instructed to reply.

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from a working man of New York who stated that a worse state of things prevailed there than in London.*

The correspondence from Germany announced that the Austrian police had prohibited the fraternisation feast of the working class at Vienna, and that a pamphlet has appeared at Berlin on the history and development of the International Working Men's Association.[339] Dr. Marx has been invited to the annual conference of the General Working Men's Union by the following letter:

"To Dr. Carl Marx, in London. Berlin, July 6, 1868.—The undersigned President and Executive of the General German Working Men's Union do themselves the honour, in consideration of the extraordinary services you have rendered to the cause of labour by your work, 'The Process of Production of Capital', to invite you as a guest of honour to the annual conference of the Union, which will assemble at Hamburg in the month of August next."

The Executive consists of 24 members, residing in different parts of Germany, to each of whom the original had to be sent to obtain his signature.[340] Only one gave a modified refusal.

In Italy the Congress programme has been published in several papers, and M. Dassy, the Vice-President of the Italian Working Men's Union, has been appointed as delegate to the Congress.[341] At Bologna and vicinity the right of meeting is suppressed; the officers of the working men's societies are in prison.

The German Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein of Switzerland, comprising about 4,000 members, have at a general dele-

* Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive* No. 358, August 22, 1868, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

gate meeting, held in Neuchâtel,[342] voted their affiliation to the International Association.*

Upon the proposition that the delegates to the Congress be now appointed, a long conversation ensued as to the advisability of adjourning, the appointment and also whether the delegation could not be made numerous by allowing members who wished to go to the Congress a part of their expenses, but making sure that the expense of one representative of the Council be paid. It was ultimately agreed that any [one] wishing to go at his own expense should have credentials from the Council to attend the Congress.

The proposition of appointing delegates at once was carried. *Lessner* proposed and Citizen *Johannard* seconded that three delegates be appointed, which was carried.

The following members were then nominated: Shaw by *Lessner* and *Buckley*; Dupont by *Marx* and *Johannard*; Eccarius by *Johannard* and *Mrs. Law;* Mrs. Law by *Jung* and *Marx*; Hales by *Johannard* and *Eccarius*.

The result of the ballot gave: Dupont 9 votes, Eccarius 9 votes, Mrs. Law, Shaw, and Hales 5 votes each. A second ballot [was] taken which gave Shaw 5 votes, Mrs. Law 4, and Hales 3.

The affiliation of the portmanteau- and trunk-makers was announced by Citizen *Townshend* who was present as the delegate of that association.

Citizen *Milner* proposed and *Weston* seconded that the credit and co-operative questions take precedent of the other questions in the order of discussion.

Citizen *Lucraft* proposed the questions as they stand as an amendment, which was carried.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

August 25, 1868

Members present: Dupont, Eccarius, Buckley, Lessner, Lucraft, Cohn, Mrs. Law, Marx, Milner, Johannard, Stepney, Weston.

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

House painters of Birmingham sent a letter announcing their resolution to withdraw. The Preston Trades Council declined to deal with the address.[343]

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from the Secretary of the Society of Free Thinkers of Geneva asking the Council to advise the Congress to admit a delegate to attend the Congress. Ph. Becker endorsed the letter.[344]

Citizen *Marx* proposed, *Dupont* seconded, that the recommendation be given. Carried.

Citizen *Cohn* made a statement respecting the reasons of his delegation to the Congress. He was elected by a great majority. The cigar-makers complain that many Belgians come over. [They] wish to have the assistance of the other delegates.

Proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Lessner*, that Citizen Lucraft receive credentials.

The following resolution was proposed respecting the reduction of the hours of labour question, seconded by *Dupont*:

A resolution having been passed unanimously by the Congress of Geneva 1866 to this effect: "That the legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition indispensable for the ulterior social improvements", the Council is of opinion that the time is now arrived when practical effect should be given to that resolution and that it has become the duty of all the branches to agitate

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 156-57 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

that question practically in the different countries where the International Working Men's Association is established.[345]

Citizen *Cohn* proposed and *Lessner* seconded that £5 be given to the Secretary* for Brussels. Carried.

The *Secretary* made a statement that with regard to the Nuremberg delegation** he was willing to undertake it if the Council granted him an additional £2.

Citizen *Lessner* proposed and *Cohn* seconded that the two pounds be granted. Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

R. SHAW, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING****

September 1, 1868

Members present: Shaw, Cohn, Milner, Dupont, Buckley, Mrs. Law, Lucraft, Lessner, Johannard, Jung, Stepney, Limburg, Weston.*****

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

Jung, in the absence of the Secretary, read correspondence from the Liverpool cigar-makers enclosing their annual contribution of 8s. 4d.

A letter from the French polishers informs the Council that they have withdrawn from the Association; 5s. contribution enclosed.

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** See p. 230 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 157-58 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** Marx's name is not mentioned among the members present although it is evident from the Minutes that he attended this meeting.—*Ed.*

Proposed by *Cohn* and seconded by *Lessner* that the money in hand (£4 1s. $7^1/_2$d.) be given to Dupont; adopted.

After the reading of the annual report by Citizen *Marx*,[346] it was proposed by Mrs. *Law* and seconded by Citizen *Milner* that the report be adopted. Carried unanimously.

Proposed by *Marx* and seconded by *Dupont* that credentials be given to Jung. Carried.

A paper was read by *Weston* on co-operation.

Marx read extracts from a letter from Eccarius.[347]

The auditors* made their report expressing satisfaction with the manner with which the books were kept and have confirmed the correctness of the balance-sheet.

Proposed by *Marx* and seconded by *Lessner* that the books be handed over to Dupont.[348] Carried.

The Council adjourned till this night fortnight.

R. SHAW, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

* Buckley and Copeland.—*Ed.*

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL MARX

KARL MARX

NOTES FOR AN UNDELIVERED SPEECH ON IRELAND[349]

I. EXORDIUM. THE EXECUTION

Since our last meeting the object of our discussion, Fenianism, has entered a new phase. It has been baptised in blood by the English Government. The Political Executions at Manchester remind us of the fate of John Brown at Harpers Ferry.* They open a new period in the struggle between Ireland and England. The whole Parliament and liberal press responsible. Gladstone. Reason: to keep up the hypocrisy that this was no political, but a common criminal affair. The effect produced upon Europe quite the contrary. They seem anxious to keep up the Act of the Long Parliament.[350] English [have] a divine right to fight the Irish on their native soil, but every Irish fighting against the British Government in England to be treated as an outlaw. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.[351] State of siege. Facts from the *Chronicle*. Governmental organisation of "Assassination and Violence".[352] Case of Bonaparte.[353]

II. THE QUESTION

What is Fenianism?

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* Here the following text is crossed out in the manuscript: "But the slaveholders have at least treated John Brown as a rebel, not as common felon."—*Ed.*

III. THE LAND QUESTION

Decrease of Population

1846
1841: 8,222,664
1866: 5,571,971
2,650,693 in 25 Jahren* 2,650,693 *1801*:5,319,867

1855: 6,604,665
1866: 5,571,971
1,032,694 in 11 years 1,032,694

Population not only decreased, but the number of the deaf-mutes, the blind, the decrepit, the lunatic, and idiotic increased relatively to the numbers of the population.

Increase of Live-Stock from 1855 to 1866

In the same period from 1855 to 1866 [the] number of the live-stock increased as follows: cattle by 178,532, sheep by 667,675, pigs by 315,918. If we take into account the simultaneous decrease of horses by 20,656, and equalise 8 sheep to 1 horse *total increase of live-stock*: 996,877, about one million.

Thus 1,032,694 Irishmen have been displaced by about one million cattle, pigs, and sheep. What has become of them? The *emigration list* answers.

Emigration

From 1st May 1851 to 31 December 1866: 1,730,189. Character of that emigration.

The process has been brought about and is still functioning upon an always enlarging scale by the *throwing together* or *consolidation of farms* (eviction) and by the simultaneous conversion of tillage into pasture.

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* Years.—*Ed.*

From 1851-1861 [the] total number of farms decreased by 120,000, while simultaneously the number of farms of 15-30 acres increased by 61,000, that of 30 acres by 109,000 (together 170,000). The decrease was almost exclusively owed to the extinction of farms from less than one to less than 15 acres. Lord Dufferin. The increase means only that amongst the decreased number of farms there is a larger portion of farms of large dimension.

How the Process Works

a) *The People.*

The situation of the *mass of the people* has deteriorated, and their state is verging to a crisis similar to that of 1846. The relative surplus population now as great as before the famine.

Wages have not risen more than 20%, since the potato famine. The price of potatoes has risen nearly 200%; the necessary means of life on an average by 100%. *Professor Cliffe Leslie,* in the London *Economist* dated February 9, 1867 says:

"After a loss of $^2/_5$ of the population in 21 years, throughout most of the island, the rate of wages is now only ls. a day; a shilling does not go further than 6d. did 21 years ago. Owing to this rise in his ordinary food the labourer is worse off than he was 10 years ago."

b) *The Land.*

1) *Decrease of land under crops.*

Decrease in cereal crops:	*Decrease in green crops:*
1861-66: 470,917 acres	*1861-66*: 128,061 acres

2) *Decrease per Statute Acre of every crop.* There has been decrease *of yield in* wheat, but greater *1847 to 1865* per cent; the exact decrease: oats 16.3, flax 47.9, turnips

36.1, potatoes 50%. Some years would show a greater decrease, but on the whole it has been *gradual* since 1847.

Since the exodus, the land has been underfed and overworked, partly from the injudicious consolidation of farms, and, partly, because, under the corn acre system,[354] the farmer in a great measure trusted to his labourers to manure the land for him. Rents and profits may increase, although the profit of the soil decreases. The total produce may diminish, but that part of it, which is converted into surplus produce, falling to landlord and greater farmers, instead of to the labourer. And the price of the surplus produce has risen.

So result: gradual expulsion of the natives, gradual deterioration and exhaustion of the source of national life, the soil.

Process of Consolidation

This process has only begun; it is going on in rapid strides. The consolidation has first attacked the farms of under one to under 15 acres. It will be far from having reached the English point of consolidation, if all farms under 100 acres have disappeared. Now the state was this in 1864:

The *total area of Ireland,* including *bogs and waste land:* 20,319,924 acres. *Of those 3/5,=12,092,117 acres,* form still farms from under *1 to under 100 acres,* and are in the hands *of 569,844 farmers;* 2/5,=8,227,807, form farms *from 100 till over 500 acres,* and are in the hands of 31,927 persons. Thus to be cleared off 2,847,220, if we number only the farmers and their families.

" This system [is a] natural offspring of the famine of 1846, accelerated by the abolition of corn-laws, and the rise in the price of meat and wool, now systematic.

Clearing of the estate of Ireland, transforming it in an

English agricultural district, minus its resident lords and their retainers, separated from England by a broad water ditch.

Change of Character of the English Rule in Ireland

State only tool of the landlords. *Eviction,* also employed as means of political punishment. (*Lord Abercorn.* England. *Gaels: in the Highlands of Scotland.*[355]) Former English policy: displacing the Irish by English (Elizabeth), roundheads (Cromwell). Since Anne, 18th-century politico-economical character only again in the protectionist measures of England against her own Irish colony; within that colony making *religion* a proprietary title. After the *Union*[356] [the] system of rack-renting and middlemen, but left the Irish, however ground to the dust, holder of their native soil. Present system, quiet business-like extinction, and government only instrument of landlords (and usurers).

From this altered state:

1) *Distinguishing character of Fenianism: Socialist, lower class movement.*

2) *Not Catholic movement.*

Priests leaders as long as Catholic Emancipation[357] and their leader, Daniel O'Connell, remained leader of the Irish movement. Ridiculous Popishism of the English. High Catholic priests against Fenianism.

3) *No representative leader in the British Parliament.* Character of O'Connell's physical force movement. Extinction of Irish party in Parliament.

4) *Nationality.* Influence of European movement, and English phraseology.

5) *America, Ireland, England*—three fields of action, leadership of America.

6) *Republican,* because America republic.

I have now given the characteristics of Fenianism.

IV. THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

A cause of humanity and right, but above all a specific English question.

a) *Aristocracy and Church and Army.* (*France,* Algiers.)

b) *Irish in England.* Influence on wages, etc. Lowering the character of the English and Irish. *The Irish Character.* Chastity of Irishmen. Attempts at education in Ireland. Diminution of crimes.

	Convicted in Ireland	
	Committed for trial:	*Convicted:*
1852	17,678	10,454
1866	4,326	2,418

The decrease in the numbers of persons committed for trial in England and Wales, since 1855, is partly due to the *Criminal Justice Act of 1855,* authorising Justices to pass sentences for short periods with the consent of the prisoners, instead of committing for trial to the sessions.

Birmingham. Progress of the English people. Infamy of the English press.

c) *The Foreign Policy.* Poland, etc. Castlereagh. Palmerston.

V. THE REMEDY

Foolishness of the minor Parliamentary propositions.

Error of the Reform League.[358]

Repeal as one of the articles of the English Democratic Party.

Written by K. Marx not later than November 26, 1867

Printed according to the manuscript

Published for the first time in the original

DOCUMENTS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S
ASSOCIATION.

CENTRAL COUNCIL, 18 GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

FOUNDED ON 28th SEPTEMBER, 1864, AT A

PUBLIC MEETING held at St. MARTIN'S HALL, London.

The Address and Statutes issued by the Provisional Central Council fully explain the Association's objects and aspirations, which, however, may be summed up in a few words. It aims at the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation, economical and political, of the Working Classes. As a means to this great end it will promote the establishment of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in EACH COUNTRY, and the co-operation of the Working Classes of DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

Its Organization, with a Central Medium at London, and numerous affiliated Branches in Europe and America, will assist in uniting the Working Classes of all Countries in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation. Annual Congresses of Delegates, elected by the affiliated Working Men themselves, will create for the Working Classes a public and powerful European representation.

The Executive Council on behalf of the Operative Bricklayers Society assembled at the 25 Hatfield Street Blackfriars London having subscribed to the principles, and applied to enter the fraternal bond, are hereby admitted as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

Dated the 21th of February 1865

G. ODGER, *President of Council*
C. W. WHEELER, *Honorary Treasurer.*

E. DUPONT, *Corresponding Sec.* for France.
K. MARX, do. Germany.
E. HOLTORP, do. Poland.
H. JUNG *Corresponding Sec. for Switzerland.*
L. LEWIS. do. America.

W. R. CREMER, *Honorary General Secretary.*

Application from the Operative Bricklayers' Society, dated February 21, 1865, for affiliation to the International

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[359]

FOUNDED ON 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1864, AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, LONDON

Central Council, 18, Greek Street, London, W.

The Address and Statutes issued by the Provisional Central Council fully explain the Association's objects and aspirations, which, however, may be summed up in a few words. It aims at the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation, economical and political, of the Working Classes. As a means to this great end it will promote the establishment of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in EACH COUNTRY, and the co-operation of the Working Classes of DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

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The *Executive Council on behalf of the Operative Bricklayers' Society*, assembled at the *25, Hatfield Street, Blackfriars, London,** having subscribed to the principles,

* Italicised words here are in handwriting.—*Ed.*

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K. MARX, do Germany.
E. HOLTORP, do Poland.
H. JUNG, do Switzerland.
L. LEWIS, do America.
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary.

Published as a leaflet in London in 1865

Printed according to the leaflet text

* Italicised words here are in handwriting.—*Ed.*

BALANCE-SHEET OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

from March 29th, 1865 to April 28th, 1866

Receipts	£	s.	d.
Balance in Hand, March 28th, 1865	6	3	8
Declarations of Enrolment		10	0
Annual Subscription [of] Arbeiter-Bildungs	1	0	0
Greenwich Branch, per Lubez		10	0
Marigny ls. 6d., Kaub Loan £6 10s., Jung Loan £1 5s.	7	16	6
Paris Administration	4	0	0
Lyons £8, Caen £1	9	0	0
Germany, per Dr. Marx	3	0	0
Voluntary Contributions for Soirée 1865[360]	3	1	6
Operative Tailors	3	0	0
Shoemakers, Ladies', West End	1	0	0
Members' Subscriptions	8	3	9
Addresses and Rules		4	3
	47	9	8
M. O.	46	18	8

Expenditure	£	s.	d.
Changing Money		1	6
Share of Expenses [for] Meeting [in] Cleveland Hall[361]		12	0
Writing Address [to] President Johnson[362]		10	0
Rent, Greek Street[363]	6	7	0
Mounting Declarations of Enrolment	1	18	0
Printing and Engraving	4	7	6
Delegations to Reform Conference at Manchester[364]	7	0	0
Postage and Miscellaneous	5	5	11
Board and Lodging of Delegates	7	17	0
Van to Remove Chairs to & from Adelphi[365]		3	6
Refreshments to Delegates at Conference		18	5
Loss on September Soirée	11	17	10
	46	18	8

*Do from April 28th to Sept. 1st**

	£	s.	d.
Members' Subscriptions & Rules	3	3	6
Declarations of Enrolment	1	0	0
Fees Given by Societies to Deputations & Presented by Them to the Association		6	0
Societies' Subscriptions for Geneva Congress	51	15	5
Subscribed by Members of the Council at Their Last Meeting Previous to the Deputations' Departure for Geneva	1	14	6
	57	19	5

Liabilities

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Leno. Printing	9	8	0
Mr. Cottam. Members' Cards	5	0	0
Mr. Lubez. Postage & Stationery	1	0	0
Mr. Kaub. Balance of Loan	6	10	9
	21	18	9

	£	s.	d.
Postage of Appeals to Painters' Society		4	0
One Quarter's Rent	1	5	0
Mr. Leno. Do	2	0	0
Mr. Kelly. Printing	2	2	6
Advertisement 6s. 6d. Mr. Cremer. Postage, etc. 19s. 6d.	1	6	0
Mr. Cremer. Salary	7	15	0
Paid to Treasurer's Account		14	10
Delegates to Geneva Conference	42	12	1
	57	19	5

	£	s.	d.
Brought up	21	18	9
Mr. Jung. Balance of Loan	1	5	0
	20	13	9
Assets in the Hands of Treasurer	1	1	1
	19	12	8

Audited and found correct 1st Sept., 1866

James Buckley

Published for the first time

Printed according to the General Council's Minute Book for 1866-68

* 1866.—*Ed.*

RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[366]

RULES

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new

hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons:—

The first International Working Men's Congress declares that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed or nationality;

This Congress considers it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights;

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following Rules of the International Association:—

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be: "The International Working Men's Association".

3. The General Council shall consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c. The Congress appoints annually the seat of the General Council, elects a number of members, with power to add to their numbers, and appoints time and place for the meeting of the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting.

4. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that, when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

6. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

7. The various branches and sections shall, at their places of abode, and as far as their influence may extend, take the initiative not only in all matters tending to the general progressive improvement of public life but also in the foundation of productive associations and other institutions useful to the working class. The General Council shall encourage them in every possible manner.

8. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Every section or branch has the right to appoint its own corresponding secretary.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal cooperation, the working men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

12. Everything not provided for in the present Rules will be supplied by special Regulations subject to the revision of every Congress.

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

1. The General Council is commissioned to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect. (A) For this purpose it collects all the documents sent by the Central Committees of the different countries, and such as it may be able to procure by other means. (B) It is charged with the organisation of the Congress, and to bring the Congress programme to the knowledge of all the branches through the medium of the Central Committees.

2. As often as its means permit, the General Council shall publish a report embracing everything that may be of interest to the International Working Men's Association, taking cognisance above all of the supply and demand for labour in different localities, Co-operative Associations, and of the condition of the labouring class in every country.

3. This report shall be published in the several languages and sent to all the corresponding offices for sale. To save expense the corresponding secretaries must previously inform the General Council of the approximate number of copies that may be disposed of in their respective localities.

4. To enable the General Council to fulfil these duties an annual contribution of ONE PENNY per member will be levied from affiliated societies for the use of the General Council payable in quarterly instalments. This contribution is destined to defray the expense of the General Council, such as the remuneration of the General Secretary, postage, printing, &c.

5. Whenever circumstances may permit Central Committees representing groups of branches using the same language will be established. The functionaries of these Committees are elected by the respective sections, but may be recalled from their offices at any time. They shall send their reports at least once a month, oftener if need be.

6. The expense of the Central Committees shall be defrayed by their respective sections. Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

7. Branches that are not able to send a delegate may unite with other branches to form a group to send a delegate to represent them.

8. Every branch, or group, consisting of more than 500 members, may send a delegate for every additional full

500 members. Only the delegates of branches and sections who have paid their contributions to the General Council can take part in the transactions of the Congress.

9. The expense of the delegates is defrayed by the branches and sections who appoint them.

10. Every member of the International Working Men's Association is eligible.

11. Each delegate has but one vote in the Congress.

12. Every section is at liberty to make Rules and Bye-Laws for its local administration, suitable to the peculiar circumstances of the different countries. But these Bye-Laws must not contain anything contrary to the general Rules and Regulations.

13. The present rules and regulations may be revised by every Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision.

BYE-LAWS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. The contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum.

2. Societies joining in their corporate capacity have to pay an entrance fee of 5s.

3. Affiliated societies in the Metropolitan district have the right to send a delegate to the meetings of the General Council. Upon invitation deputations from the General Council will wait upon societies in the Metropolitan district to explain the aims and objects of the Association.

By order of the General Council,

ROBERT SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Hon. Gen. Sec.

Published by the General Council's decision of November 5, 1867 as a pamphlet: *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London [1867]

Printed according to the text of the pamphlet

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WORKING MEN[367]

During the first two years of the existence of this Association, and until after the assembling of the Geneva Congress, the General Council had little or no complaint to make of the conduct of the French Government towards the International Working Men's Association. The Council's communications, with its correspondents in France, were not interrupted; the sale of tickets not seriously impeded. If, here and there, the local authorities threatened dire consequences to the Council's agents, if they proceeded to enrol members, those threats were but *brutum fulmen*, and were not executed upon those who had the courage to act in defiance of them.

This much is quite consistent with the fact that the very existence of the French Empire and of the laws of public safety, which it declares are necessary for its maintenance, did greatly impede the progress of the Association. In the first place, the non-existence of the right of public meeting prevented the members of the Association from meeting together and organising their sections in an overt and formal manner. But the General Council neither expected nor desired that the laws of the Empire should be specially modified to suit their interests. The damage done to them in this manner had nothing in it "specially" invidious to themselves. It was an injury which was inflicted primarily on the whole French nation, and secondarily upon every advanced Liberal and Democrat in Europe, all of whom have an interest in the existence of the

right of public meeting in France. Hence, they make no public complaint on this account.

In the second place, the general spirit of terrorism, upon which the French Government so much relies, could not but have deterred many Frenchmen, who agreed with the principles and design of the Association, from becoming members thereof and linking themselves to its fortunes in France. But this damage also is general and indirect. Moreover, it was known to the founders of the Association that this would be one of the obstacles to its success in France. The General Council were prepared for a certain amount of uphill work, in consequence of the prevailing terror in all that relates to independent political action in France, and therefore they do not come forward now to make a complaint on this score.

Had the French Government continued to preserve that attitude of (perhaps contemptuous) neutrality which it observed up to, and during, the Congress of Geneva, the General Council would not have been compelled to make the present statement to the members of the Association. But from and after the assembling of the Congress at Geneva the French Government saw fit to alter its attitude towards the Association. The motives for this change of policy cannot be found in any special act of antagonism committed either by the General Council or by the delegates to the Congress, French or non-French.

It would have been the height of folly on the part of the General Council, or the delegates of the Congress, to court and invite the hostility of the French Government. Some few Parisian members of the Association who attended the Congress in their individual capacities thought otherwise, but as they were not delegates, they were not allowed to speak at the Congress. The delegates went about the weighty business they had in hand, and did not diverge to the right hand or to the left, for the purpose of making an anti-Bonapartist demonstration.

One of the first signs of a change for the worse on the part of the French Government was the case of Jules Gottraux. Jules Gottraux is a native of Switzerland, and a naturalised subject of the British State. He is domiciled in London, and in September last was on a visit to his relatives in or about Geneva. The Managing Committees of the German-Swiss and French-Swiss sections at Geneva entrusted to his care some letters, and a number of pamphlets and newspapers relating to the transactions of the Association, which were all, without exception, to be delivered to the General Council in London. On proceeding from Geneva to London, on Sept. 30, the valise of Gottraux was searched by French policemen at the Franco-Swiss frontier, and these letters and printed documents taken from him.

This was an outrage which the General Council, when put in possession of the facts, resolved not quietly to endure. That the French Government, which enacts the law, may make it legal to seize printed matter and correspondence coming from abroad and directed to a French citizen, or even a mere resident in France, the Council did not deny; but for the French Government to exercise the same right of paternal "surveillance" over the communications between Switzers and Britons, or even residents in Great Britain, was a stretch of authority that the General Council felt itself bound to oppose. The outrage was not aggravated by the fact that the literature seized in no way concerned the French Government, and did not belong to the category of the anti-Bonapartist philippics, because, whatever the character of the literature, the Council denies the right of the French Government, while at peace with Switzerland and Great Britain, to intercept the communications between the citizens of the two countries.

The first step taken by the Council in this matter was to write a respectful letter to the "Ministre de l'Intérieur", stating the facts, requesting an inquiry into their accuracy,

and terminating with a petition for the surrender of the letters and printed matter seized upon Gottraux.

The Council waited five weeks for a reply to their memorial. None came, and this silence was a proof that the French Government assumed responsibility for the act of its subordinate agents. Only then did the Council resolve to appeal to Lord Stanley, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for redress, grounding their appeal upon the facts that Gottraux was a British subject, and that the General Council was composed of subjects and denizens in Great Britain.

Lord Stanley, be it said to his credit, heard this appeal, and directed Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, to ask for the restitution of the said letters and printed matter.

On the 21st ult., the Council received a letter from Mr. Hammond (of the Foreign Office), accompanying a parcel sealed with the seal of the British Embassy. The letter informed the Council that the parcel contained the papers which had been seized upon Gottraux.

It did contain the confiscated letters and printed matter, and also, strange to say, some newspapers not seized upon Gottraux, nor coming from Switzerland. These newspapers were two bundles of the Brussels *Tribune du Peuple*, a paper doubtless highly obnoxious to the French Government, and the principal organ of the Association in Belgium. These papers had been addressed to some French members, and the Council, far from having demanded their restitution, were unaware of their having been seized. These two bundles had upon them the official seal of the Administration of Public Safety.

In order to conclude this case of Gottraux's, the undersigned inserts here a resolution passed on the first instant by the General Council.

"Resolved, that the General Council of the International Working Men's Association tenders its thanks to Lord

Stanley for his just and efficacious intervention with the French Government with a view to obtain for the said General Council the papers and letters belonging to it, which were seized upon the person of Jules Gottraux, a British subject, on Sept. 30, 1866." At the same time the undersigned was directed to communicate a copy of the same, without delay, to Lord Stanley.

In November last, Citizen Dupont, the Council's Secretary for France, found that letters sent by him to the Association's agents in France were seized, and also that letters directed to him from all parts of France did not come to hand. *A fortiori*, the French post-office was closed against the delivery of printed matter addressed by the Council to its agents in France and *vice versa*.

Of course Citizen Dupont can no longer confide in the French post-office.

The latest news under this head is that, whereas the blockade against printed matter directed to French citizens and members of the Association is still stringently enforced, letters from the French provinces directed to Dupont have of late, once more, come through, although letters so directed from Paris continue to be detained!

Another fact is reported in the last number of the *Courrier Français*. The interesting essay contributed by the Parisian delegates to the Geneva Congress, parts of which have already been published in the *Courrier Français* without evil consequences, was sent to Brussels to be printed, only because no printer in Paris would undertake to execute the job. This memorial, be it said, is directed against the capitalist class, but is silent concerning the present Government of France. Nevertheless, the printed edition of this memorial has been seized by the postal authorities of France and confiscated.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to say how long the French Government will continue to allow the sale of tickets of membership in the Association, and ab-

stain from persecuting the prominent members thereof, who live subject to its jurisdiction.

By order of the General Council,

PETER FOX

January 5, 1867

Written by P. Fox

Published in *The Commonwealth* No. 201. January 12, 1867, and in *The Working Man* No. 2, February 1, 1867

Printed according to *The Working Man*

POLAND[368]

PROGRAMME OF THE TEA-PARTY AND PUBLIC MEETING,

held in Cambridge Hall, Newman Street, on January 22nd, 1867, in commemoration of the last Polish Revolution, of 1863.

Tea served at 7 o'clock.

During tea the band of the musical instrument-makers will perform as follows:

1. Polish National Hymn
2. Tancredi's Overture
3. Juliet Waltz
4. A Polish Hymn
5. French Bouquet Quadrille
6. Marseillaise
7. Pretty Bird's Waltz
8. Garibaldi's Air
9. Orpheus' Gallop

After tea, the Chairman will introduce the chorus, to sing the Polish Anthem, "Boże, Coś Polskę. . . ."

Chairman's introductory oration.

After which will be proposed and seconded:

1st RESOLUTION

The Poles here assembled to commemorate the anniversary of their insurrection declare that they faithfully adhere to the Manifesto of the Polish National Government, dated January 22nd, 1863, which Manifesto abolished all privileges, endowed the peasantry with land, and pro-

claimed all the inhabitants without distinction free and equal before the law, and they firmly believe that this is the only available means whereby to resist the present nefarious attempts of the Muscovite Czar to decompose Polish Society into fragments of various classes, religions, and races, and the only just principle whereon to consolidate the unity of the people, and to organise a national power sufficiently strong to recover their freedom and independence, and further, they appeal to this meeting to declare that in the prosecution of these aims, they are entitled to the good-will and co-operation of all free and civilised people, and especially, the working classes throughout the world.

2nd RESOLUTION

That liberty cannot be established in Europe without the independence of Poland.

3rd RESOLUTION

La branche française de l'association internationale des travailleurs proteste au nom de la solidarité des peuples contre l'asservissement des Polonais et leur promet son concours pour les aider à se reconstituer sur des bases républicaines, démocratiques et sociales.

TRANSLATION

The French branch of the International Working Men's Association protests, in the name of the community of interests among nations, against the enslavement of the Poles, and pledges to the latter their aid towards the reconstitution of Poland on democratic, republican, and socialist bases.

4th RESOLUTION

That the recent abolition of the "Congress Poland"[369] by the Czar is an insult to those great powers of Europe which promoted those arrangements by their connivance or mutual jealousies, but that we who represent the popular sentiment and interest cannot regret the sweeping away of the unrighteous and inevitably abortive compromise of 1815, but even are glad that henceforth the Polish question is necessarily reduced to this simple issue: either to acquiesce in the total disappearance of the name of Poland from the map of Europe, or to champion its re-establishment within the boundaries of 1772.

After the resolutions are passed the band will play the Polish National Hymn, "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła".

Published as a leaflet in London, January 1867

Printed according to the leaflet text

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[370]

18, Bouverie Street, E.C., London

TO THE MINERS AND IRON-WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

Fellow working men, it is but a few days since the thunderer of Printing House Square* presaged the ruin and destruction of the British iron trade if the Unionists persisted in not working under a certain price. The Belgians, it was said, with cheap coals and low wages, would engross the trade, both in the home and the foreign market. Two men, Creed and Williams, expatiated in the *Times* on the felicity of the Belgian coal and iron-masters not being bothered with vexatious factory laws and Trades Unions; the Belgian miners and iron-workers worked contentedly, with their wives and children, from 12 to 14 hours a day, for less than their British equals received for ten hours' work a day. However, hardly was the ink of the print dry, when tidings arrived that these contented beings had revolted. The iron trade, says the *Economiste Belge*, has been queer for some time on account of the high price of coal and an indifferent yield of the mines. The same journal says:

"The ignorance of the mining population is so profound, their brutality so great, their way of spending their money so disorderly and so improvident that the highest wages would be insufficient."

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* *The Times*.—Ed.

This is no wonder. The responsibility rests with those who keep them in a worse than brutish drudgery from the cradle to the grave.

At the beginning of last month, three furnaces stopped in the neighbourhood of Marchienne; the other ironmasters forthwith announced a reduction of wages of ten per cent; the coal-masters of Charleroi followed suit, yet the *Economiste* says that coals were never more in demand, nor at a higher price than at present. The affair was aggravated by a simultaneous rise in the price of flour, the coal and iron-masters being also the proprietors of the flour mills of the district. A great many of the work-people became exasperated, and not being organised and in the habit of deliberating upon their common affairs, they had no plan of action for their guidance.

They gathered upon the high roads and went from place to place to prevent such as might be disposed to work under the reduction. The colliers of Charleroi arrived by a flour mill guarded by a hundred soldiers whose guns were loaded with ball cartridges. This provoked an attack, the result is: killed, wounded, and prisoners. These poor-provoked and ill-used victims have left families outside the graves and the prison walls who are in dire want. Nobody ventures in Belgium to say a word in their behalf. Mistaken and misguided as these men were as to their course of action, they yet fell in labour's cause, and those they have left behind deserve sympathy and support. Some pecuniary help to the widows and orphans, and the moral influence it would produce, if coming from abroad, would raise the drooping spirits of the whole class, and might lead to communications and interchanges of opinion which would give our Continental brethren a better idea of how labour's battles must be fought, and what organisation and education the fighting army requires.

The Council of the International Working Men's Associa-

tion appeals to you to take the case into your consideration, for the cause of the labourers of one country is that of the labourers of all countries.

GEORGE ODGER, President
J. *GEORGE ECCARIUS*, Vice-President
R. SHAW, Secretary

Drawn up by Eccarius
early in March 1867
Published in *The International Courier* No. 8, March 13; *Le Courrier International* No. 11, March 16, and *The Working Man* No. 4, April 6, 1867

Printed according to
The International Courier

BALANCE-SHEET OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

from September 1st, 1866 to April 23rd, 1867

Income	£	s.	d.
Entrance Fees from Societies:			
French Polishers' Society		5	0
Basket-Makers' Society		5	0
Day Working Bookbinders		5	0
Excavators' Society		5	0
Elastic Web-Weavers		5	0
Block-Cutters' Society		5	0
Coach-Makers' Society		5	0
Book-Printers' Society		5	0
West End Cabinet-Makers		5	0
Coach-Trimmers' Society "Globe"		5	0
Coach-Trimmers' Society "Crown"		5	0
Organ-Builders		5	0
Annual Subscriptions from Societies:			
Elastic Web-Weavers		5	0
Cigar-Makers	1	9	0
Darlington Tailors		1	8
Coventry Weavers	1	13	4
Hand-in-Hand Coopers		5	0
Block-Printers	2	1	8
Nottingham Shoemakers		2	1
Operative Bricklayers	1	0	0
West End Cabinet-Makers	1	2	0
Kendal Shoemakers		1	8
Day Working Bookbinders		17	6

Expenditure	£	s.	d.
Balance Paid to Delegates to Geneva Congress	6	0	0
Rent of Office for 3 quarters to Xmas, 1866	7	10	0
Paid to Mr. Leno on Printing a/c	4	10	0
Paid to Mr. Cottam on Printing a/c	3	0	0
Paid to Mr. Collet Do Do	3	0	0
Paid to Mr. Collet for Newspapers	1	7	4
Paid on a/c of Mr. Kaub's Loan	1	0	0
Carriage of Box from Geneva		6	10
Postage and Stationery	2	4	6½
Paid to Mr. Dell on a/c of Loan		6	0
Balance in Hand	3	18	1½

	£	s.	d.
"The Crown" Coach-Trimmers		5	0
Special Contributions to the Geneva Congress Fund	1	8	7
Members' Annual Contributions	7	19	0
Subscriptions from Continental Sections	2	4	0
From Duplcix (Geneva), per Jung	4	0	0
From France, per Dupont	1	3	8
From German-Swiss Section (Geneva)	1	7	9
Rules, Cards, Reports		5	11
Loan from Mr. Dell	2	10	0
Total	33	2	10

Liabilities

Mr. Leno. Printing	4	18	0
Mr. Cottam. Printing Cards	2	0	0
Loans from Last Sheet	6	16	0
Mr. Le Lubez	1	0	9
West End Ladies' Shoemakers	10	0	0
Loan from Mr. Dell	2	4	0
Rent of Office (about)	3	7	0
Messrs. Jung and Carter	2	0	0
Mr. *Collet*, Printer for *Carnets* and Courriers[371] (about)	2	0	0
	34	5	9
Deduct Assets	3	18	1½
Total Liabilities	30	7	7½

Chaux-de-Fonds, per Jung

		£	s.	d.
Total		33	2	10
Assets:		3	18	1½
Cash in hand:				

Examined and found correct,
JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS
FRIEDRICH LESSNER

Printed according to the manuscript

Published for the first time

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES[372]

Fellow Working Men,—According to the reports we have received from time to time—our Continental members are very persevering in propagating the principles and extending the ramifications of our Association, particularly in Switzerland, where most of our branches are actively engaged in establishing benefit and credit funds, and co-operative societies of production in connection with our Association; the progress of the British section has been greatly interfered with by the Reform movement. As the Council looks upon the political enfranchisement of the working classes as a means to complete their social emancipation, it was but natural that the British members should take a leading part in the Reform agitation and that our affiliated societies should, for the time being, throw their whole weight into the balance against reactionary phrase-mongers and malignant obstructives to bring matters to a crisis. However, now that the heat of the agitation has subsided, that no more monster demonstrations have to be organised, and the time appointed for the meeting of the second annual congress is drawing near, it is high time that those who have absented themselves during the height of the contest should resume their seats at the Council board, and our affiliated branches should make an effort to lend us a helping hand.[373] The aims of our Association are not ephemeral; our labours will continue to absorb the attention of the working population until

wages-slavery has become a matter of history. What the lot of the labouring population would be if everything were left to isolated, individual bargaining, may be easily foreseen. The iron rule of supply and demand, if left unchecked, would speedily reduce the producers of all the wealth to a starvation level, since in the actual condition of society every improvement of the productive powers, every abridgement of manual labour, tends but to lower wages and increase the hours of toil. Surely the labouring poor, the producers of all wealth, have a human, an inherent, a natural claim to participate in the fruits of their own toil, but this claim can only be enforced and realised by the union of all. Sectional efforts are of little avail, and partful successes are but short-lived. Nothing short of a thorough union and combination of the work-people of all countries can achieve the satisfactory solution of the labour question. Much has already been done in that direction, but more remains to be done. The periodical meeting of the representative men of the different countries has the effect of removing time-honoured national antipathies, cementing friendship, and smoothing the path for a common mode of action towards a common end. We therefore appeal to you to do what is in your power to send as many representatives of the British branches as possible to the ensuing Congress of our Association, which will assemble on Monday, Sept. 2nd, 1867, at Lausanne.

According to the Regulations passed at the first annual congress, every branch is entitled to send a delegate. Branches numbering above 500 members may send a delegate for every full 500 members. Branches that do not consider it advisable to send delegates of their own may contribute towards the expense of delegates representing groups of branches.

The principal questions to be settled by the Congress are:

1. On the practical means by which to enable the International Working Men's Association to fulfil its function

of a common centre of action for the working classes, female and male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of capital.

2. How can the working classes utilise for the purpose of their own emancipation the credit which they now give to the middle classes and the government.

An early reply stating your decision is requested.

By order of the Council,
GEORGE ODGER, President
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Gen. Sec.

16, Castle Street, East London, W., July 9, 1867

Written by a commission consisting of P. Fox, H. Jung, J. G. Eccarius, and E. Dupont
Adopted by the General Council on July 9, 1867
Published as a leaflet in mid-July 1867

Printed according to the leaflet text

ADRESSE DU CONSEIL GENERAL DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS. AUX MEMBRES ET AUX SOCIETES AFFILIEES ET À TOUS LES TRAVAILLEURS[374]

Prolétaires.

Parmi les correspondances que nous recevons nous voyons que les membres de l'association continuent à propager les principes et à augmenter le nombre des branches de l'association internationale. Ce travail est surtout remarquable en Suisse, où la plupart de nos branches sont activement occupées à établir des sociétés ouvrières de toute sorte et à les mettre en rapport avec nous.

La Belgique, depuis le massacre de Marchienne, fait des efforts dignes d'éloges pour masser tout le prolétariat belge sous notre égide.

Mais différentes causes ont entravé cette œuvre de propagande dans les autres pays:

L'Allemagne, qui avant 48 avait pris tant d'intérêt dans l'étude des questions sociales, voit presque toutes ses forces actives absorbées par le mouvement unitaire qui s'accomplit dans son sein.

En France, vu le peu de liberté dont jouit la classe ouvrière, la généralisation de nos principes et de notre association ne s'est pas effectuée d'une façon aussi rapide qu'on aurait pu l'espérer : car nous eussions cru que l'appui que *grâce à nous*, les sociétés ouvrières anglaises ont prêté aux sociétés ouvrières françaises lors de leurs grèves,[375] au-

rait dû nous conquérir le soutien de tous les ouvriers français. Maintenant qu'en France la lutte entre la classe capitaliste et la classe ouvrière rentre dans la phase que nous appellerons *anglaise*, c'est-à-dire, prenant un caractère nettement tranché, les ouvriers devraient comprendre que pour résister avec succès aux forces des capitalistes il faut qu'un puissant lien d'union réunisse les différents membres de la communauté ouvrière.

L'Angleterre, occupée qu'elle était par le mouvement réformiste, a laissé pour un moment de côté le mouvement économique. Mais maintenant que ce mouvement a cessé, que l'enquête sur *les trades' unions*[376] fait l'énumération et la constatation des forces de la classe ouvrière, nous pensons que l'heure est venue pour que toutes les sociétés ouvrières comprennent notre utilité.

Déjà, à plusieurs reprises, dans des réunions de délégués de la classe ouvrière, le rôle de notre association a été apprécié à sa juste valeur et un grand nombre de sociétés se sont déjà fondues dans notre sein. L'Angleterre, grâce à la puissante organisation que possède la classe ouvrière est appelée à être un de nos plus fermes appuis.

Les Etats-Unis semblent avoir acquis une nouvelle jeunesse dans la guerre sanglante qu'ils viennent de traverser: la classe ouvrière s'est déjà centralisée et a exercé son action sur le gouvernement bourgeois, qui règne sur l'Amérique et a forcé plusieurs législatures d'Etat à accepter le bill de huit heures de travail. A l'occasion de l'élection du prochain président les différents partis politiques ont été obligés de faire leur profession de foi: le parti radical par la bouche de Wade, président du sénat, a reconnu la nécessité de s'occuper avant tout spécialement de la question du travail et du capital, et il s'est prononcé franchement pour une transformation de la propriété capitaliste et foncière. Comme dans ce pays la classe ouvrière jouit d'une force d'organisation considérable, elle sera capable d'imposer ses volontés.

Dans tous les pays civilisés à l'heure présente la classe ouvrière est en train de s'agiter et c'est dans les pays où l'industrie manufacturière est la plus développée comme en Amérique et en Angleterre, que l'on trouve une organisation plus compacte de la classe ouvrière et une lutte plus ardente entre la classe bourgeoise et la classe ouvrière.

En présence de la force du capital, la force individuelle humaine a disparu, dans une manufacture l'ouvrier n'est plus qu'un rouage de la machine. Pour que l'ouvrier pût retrouver son individualité, il a dû s'unir, former des associations pour défendre son salaire, sa vie. Jusqu'aujourd'hui ces associations étaient restées locales, mais le capital, grâce aux nouvelles inventions de l'industrie, voit sa force s'accroître tous les jours; aussi les associations nationales sont devenues dans un grand nombre de cas impuissantes : en étudiant les luttes de la classe ouvrière anglaise, on voit que pour résister à leurs ouvriers les patrons, tantôt font venir des ouvriers étrangers tantôt font faire l'ouvrage dans des pays où la main-d'œuvre est meilleur marché. En présence de cet état de choses, si la classe ouvrière veut continuer sa lutte avec quelque chance de succès, il faut que des associations nationales deviennent internationales.

Que tous les ouvriers envisagent avec attention ce nouveau point de vue de la question, qu'ils considèrent qu'en se rangeant sous notre bannière c'est leur pain et celui de leurs enfants qu'ils défendent.

Nous, conseil général, en appelons à tous pour que le prochain congrès, qui se tiendra le 2 septembre 1867 à Lausanne, soit une éclatante manifestation de la classe ouvrière.

« D'après les règlements du premier congrès, chaque branche a le pouvoir d'envoyer un délégué ou congrès. Les branches comptant plus de 500 membres peuvent envoyer un délégué par chaque 500 membres de surplus. Les branches qui ne seraient pas assez riches pour envoyer un délégué peuvent s'adjoindre d'autres branches pour contribuer

à fournir les frais d'un délégué qui serait chargé de les représenter. »

Les questions du congrès sont :

1° Quels sont les moyens *pratiques* capables de rendre l'association internationale un centre commun d'action pour la classe ouvrière (femelle et mâle) dans la lutte qu'elle soutient pour s'affranchir du joug du capital ?

2° Comment les classes ouvrières peuvent-elles utiliser pour leur émancipation le crédit qu'elles donnent à la bourgeoisie et aux gouvernements ?

Salut et fraternité :

Secrétaires Correspondants :

E. DUPONT, pour la France ; K. MARX, pour l'Allemagne ; ZABICKI, pour la Pologne ; H. JUNG, pour la Suisse ; P. FOX, pour l'Amérique ; BESSON, pour la Belgique ; CARTER, pour l'Italie ; P. LAFARGUE, pour l'Espagne ; HANSEN, pour la Hollande et pour le Danemark.

G. ODGER, président
G. ECCARIUS, vice-président
W. DELL, trésorier
SHAW secrétaire-trésorier
PETER FOX, secrétaire-général

16. Castle Street, Oxford Street.

Drawn up by P. Lafargue and edited by K. Marx, mid-July 1867

Published as a pamphlet in London in July 1867, as well as in the newspapers *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 31, August 4, 1867, *Le Courrier International* No.28/29, July 30, 1867, *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 8, August 31, 1867

Printed according to the leaflet text

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[377]

The Duties Imposed upon the General Council by the First Annual Congress

The Congress passed a resolution appointing the London delegates to wait upon the Swiss, the French, and the British postal authorities to bring the question of international penny postage—of cheap postage—under their notice.

The Swiss postmaster agreed to all the deputation urged, but observed that the French Government stepped [in their] way.

In France the delegates could get no audience, and the British Government only consented to receive a written statement which has been sent.

The other duties imposed upon the General Council by the first annual Congress were: 1. The publication, in several languages, of the transactions of the Congress, including the letters and memoirs addressed to that Congress. 2. To publish periodical or occasional reports in different languages, embracing everything that might be of interest to the Association. 3. To give information of the supply and demand for labour in different localities. 4. An account of co-operative societies. 5. Of the condition of the working class in every country. The Council was also charged with causing a statistical inquiry to be instituted, which was to contain special and detailed information about every branch of industry, in which wages labour is employed, in the most civilised countries of Europe.

To enable the Council to fulfil these various duties, the Congress voted a contribution of threepence per member to the Executive, and a salary of £2 a week to the General Secretary, leaving his appointment to the Council.

As soon as the London delegates had returned, and the Council was reorganised, information was received that some of our Congress documents had been seized on the person of Jules Gottraux by the French police on the frontier.

The General Secretary was instructed to write to the French Minister of the Interior, but not receiving any reply, an application was made to the British Foreign Office. Lord Stanley, with the greatest readiness, instructed Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, to intercede; the result was that within a few days our documents were restored, and a parcel of *Tribunes du Peuple*, which had evidently been seized from somebody else, superadded.

The Congress documents were then handed over to the Standing Committee, with instructions to prepare the report for publication. As there were no funds to pay the General Secretary this labour devolved upon volunteers, who had to do it in their spare hours, which caused further delay. When all was ready the lowest estimate to have a thousand printed in one language was £40. To comply with the Congress instructions required an immediate outlay of £120; the cash in hand on the 31st of December amounted to 18s. 4d.

The General Secretary was instructed to appeal to the affiliated societies of the British section for their contributions—only the London cigar-makers and the Coventry and Warwickshire ribbon-weavers responded immediately. The board of management of the latter association, with a highly commendable zeal to fulfil its obligation—having no funds in hand and many members out of work—forthwith raised a levy to the required amount from the members in work.

The Council then availed itself of an offer made by Citizen J. Collet, the proprietor and editor of the *International Courier*, to publish the report in French and English in weekly parts in the columns of his journal. He also agreed to stereotype the whole at his own expense with the view of publishing it in pamphlet form, and to let the Council share in the profits, if any, the Council undertaking no responsibility whatever in case of loss.

But hardly was this highly advantageous arrangement completed when, on account of not having complied with some legal intricacy, of which the government had previously taken no notice, Citizen Collet had to suspend the publication of his journal for several weeks, and it was not till March that the publication of the Congress report could be regularly proceeded with.

The numbers of the *International Courier* containing the report have been sent gratis to the branches. A German version could, for want of a similar opportunity, not be published.

When the publication was completed it was again want of funds that prevented, and still prevents, the publication in pamphlet form.

To make matters worse the French police seized a parcel of rules and cards of membership, purposely issued for the French section, the printing of which cost £4, which was borrowed money. Besides this dead loss, there was the further injury of curtailing the contributions, which in France depend principally upon the scale of individual membership. Beyond all this, there were the old liabilities which were acknowledged as the debt of the Association by the Congress, but no special provision made for their liquidation. They have greatly hampered our action, and continue to be a source of trouble.

Under these circumstances it was utterly impossible to publish either periodical or occasional reports; nor have our correspondents taken the trouble to send us any special

information with a view to such publication. The question of entering upon the statistical inquiry had to be abandoned for the present year. To be of any use at all it cannot be limited to the trades at present comprised within the circle of our affiliated societies. Such an inquiry, to answer its purpose, must include every trade, every country, and every locality. This involves not only a large expenditure for printing, stationery, and postage, but also an amount of labour in the shape of correspondence, compiling, and arranging the scattered and specific statements into a comprehensive and comprehensible whole, [so] that the possibility of having it done by volunteers in their leisure hours is altogether out of the question.

Interference in Trades' Disputes

One of the best means of demonstrating the beneficent influence of international combination is the assistance rendered by the International Working Men's Association in the daily occurring trades' disputes. It used to be a standard threat with British capitalists, not only in London, but also in the provinces, when their workmen would not tamely submit to their arbitrary dictation, that they would supplant them by an importation of *foreigners*. The possibility of such importations taking place was in most cases sufficient to deter the British workmen from insisting on their demands. The action taken by the Council has had the effect of putting a stop to these threats being made publicly. Where anything of the kind is contemplated it has to be done in secret, and the slightest information obtained by the workmen suffices to frustrate the plans of the capitalists. As a rule, when a strike or a lock-out occurs concerning any of the affiliated trades, the Continental correspondents are at once instructed to warn the workmen in their respective localities not to enter into

any engagements with the agents of the capitalists of the place where the dispute is. However, this action is not confined to affiliated trades. The same action is taken on behalf of other trades upon application being received. This generally leads to the affiliation of the trades that invoke our aid.

Now and then it happens that the capitalists succeed in getting a few stragglers, but they generally repudiate their engagements upon being informed of the reason why they were engaged.

During the London basket-makers' dispute last winter information was received that six Belgians were at work under the railway arches in Blue Anchor Lane, Bermondsey. They were as strictly guarded against coming in contact with the outside public as a kidnapped girl in a nunnery. By some stratagem a Flemish member of the Council succeeded in obtaining an interview, and upon being informed of the nature of their engagement the men struck work and returned home. Just as they were about to embark a steamer arrived with a fresh supply. The new arrivals were at once communicated with; they too repudiated their engagements, and returned home, promising that they would exert themselves to prevent any further supplies, which they accomplished.

In consequence of the appeals made by deputations from the Council to various British societies, the Paris bronze-workers received very considerable pecuniary support during their lock-out, and the London tailors on strike have in turn received support from Continental associations through the intercession of the Council. The good offices of the Council were also employed on behalf of the excavators, the wire-workers, the block-cutters, the hairdressers, and others.

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to M. Allen. The secretary was also instructed to write to the London compositors, & the brassfinishers.

General Affairs

Cit Marx proposed & Cit. Lafargue seconded, that the following be the first Congress resolution On the practical means, by which to enable the International Workingmen's Association to fulfil its function of a common centre of action for the working classes, founded by male, in their struggle tending to their complete emancipation from the domination of Capital. Agreed.

Cit. Eccarius read the subjoined following address which was unanimously adopted. It was further agreed that 300 should be printed for circulation, & that Cit. Lafargue should render it in the French Language & bring it before the standing Committee on Saturday July 13.

Respecting Cit. Beesons misconduct it was agreed that he should attend the standing Committee July 23, & the secretary was instructed to write to him.

Cit. Fox brought his written statement to the Post Master General before the Council. Cit. Eccarius, Jung, & Carter, all of whom [illegible] resided in the Post Office as masters of Switzerland, suggested some additions which Cit. Fox readily accepted & stated that he would complete the document in the course of the week. The meeting then adjourned.

Members present: Cit. Carter, Dupont, Eccarius, Fox, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Lafargue, Yarrow, & Jabicki.

Page of the Minute Book (General Council meeting of July 9, 1867) with a motion by Marx concerning the agenda of the Lausanne Congress of 1867

Propaganda and Affiliated Societies

The work of propaganda and affiliation of societies has been greatly impeded in England during the past year. It seems as if the British Legislature could never move a step in the right direction in any matter of great social or political importance unless compelled by a threatening and overwhelming pressure from without, when the public excitement assumes the character of a monomania. While the Reform agitation was at its height, the frequent monster demonstrations in course of organisation, it was almost hopeless to try to engage the attention of working men to the somewhat distant aims of the International Working Men's Association. Most of our British Council members took an active part in these proceedings, which reduced our available forces to go on deputations, while the proceedings themselves caused so much excitement and absorbed so much of the attention of those who might have entertained our applications, that there was no room for their consideration. These proceedings, too, in diverting men's attention to other objects have had the effect of preventing many new members being enrolled and some old ones to renew their subscriptions. Everywhere one was met with the observation that the struggle for Parliamentary Reform was [not] only the struggle of a season, but the paramount duty of the hour and an indispensable stepping stone to that complete emancipation of the working classes from the domination of capital which is the aim of the International Working Men's Association. One step has undoubtedly been gained by the Act of 1867. It is sufficiently comprehensive to enable the working classes to politically combine for class purposes within the precincts of the Constitution, and exercise a direct influence upon the Legislature in matters of social and economical reform in as far as they affect the labour question,

But though our propagandism has been much impeded during the past it has not been arrested. The ordinary mode of proceeding with the affiliation of corporate bodies is somewhat tedious. When the Council has any reasonable ground for believing that the question will be favourably entertained by an association, it applies to the president or secretary by letter. If the application be favourably received, a deputation is requested to attend the Executive to state the aims of the Association. If the Executive endorses the statement of the deputation it recommends the question to be entertained at some future general or delegate meeting, when perhaps the deputation is again requested to attend. In some cases the question of affiliation is decided at once—in others the votes of all the members and branches have to be taken to arrive at a decision.

The affiliation of 33 organised bodies has been brought about in this manner during the past year. More than twenty have been corresponded with and received deputations. With some the decisions are pending, others have deferred the consideration to a more favourable opportunity; only one society has flatly refused to enter into any relationship because the Association entertains political questions.

Contributions and Affiliated Societies

The question as to the contributions of affiliated societies occupied the Council at various times. While the question was pending, the Executive of the Operative Bricklayers' Society joined and agreed to contribute £1 per annum.

In March 1865, a deputation from the Council waited on the conference of the Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association, at which the following resolution, proposed by the delegate from Birmingham, and seconded by the delegate from Hull, was unanimously carried:

"That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Working Men's Association as represented by the deputation from that body, and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles, and endeavour to spread them amongst our constituents."

The question of contributions was raised, but the discussion being out of order was stopped. Some weeks after it was resolved that a declaration of enrolment should be printed, for which organised bodies should pay an entrance fee of 5s., that as many cards as possible should be sold to individual members of such societies, the remainder, when funds were required, should be left to their generosity. It was while this state of things lasted that the liabilities already alluded to were incurred.

The money granted by various affiliated societies last year were voluntary gifts towards defraying the expenses of the delegates to the first Congress, and it was expended for that purpose.

The Cordwainers' Executive granted £5.

To remove this state of uncertainty the Council proposed a minimum contribution per member from affiliated societies.

The Congress voted threepence, which the British delegates maintained could not be levied from trades societies in England.

When, after the Geneva Congress, our deputations were sent to trades societies, it was found that, as the British delegates had foreseen, the threepence per member formed an insurmountable obstacle to the affiliation of organised bodies.

On the 9th of October the Council resolved unanimously that the contribution should be lowered to one halfpenny per member. All the societies that have since been affiliated have joined with that understanding.

The Amalgamated Cordwainers' Association has distinctly declared that the resolution of its conference of

1865 does not amount to an affiliation, and the conference of the same body of 1867 has rescinded the resolution, which enabled the Council to grant us £5 last year.

The Executive of the Operative Bricklayers has paid £1 for 1867, but has not yet announced any decision, whether it considers the whole society affiliated or not.

The Cordwainers' Association was put down in last year's estimate as containing 5,000 members, the Bricklayers' 3,000 to 4,000.

Two appeals have been made in the course of the year for the contributions; some of the previously affiliated societies have paid, others have not; but, excepting the cordwainers, none have repudiated their obligation.

The Executive of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners has recently passed resolutions to contribute £2 per annum to the funds of the Council, but the question is now under consideration to take the votes of all the members whether the association is to be affiliated in its entirety or not. It numbers about 9,000 members, and extends over England, Wales, and Ireland. The following is a list of the affiliated societies of the British section, and the money furnished by them during the last two years. (See pp. 301-02 of the present volume.)

Beyond this the elastic web-weavers have granted £1 to the Congress fund; the cigar-makers £1 1s.

There is a considerable difference in the actual income of the two years, but there is an essential difference as to its purport. Last year the money was voted to send delegates to the Congress; it was therefore not available for other purposes; this year's income consists of contributions to defray the expense of administration. Last year, we incurred liabilities because we had no settled income; this year, we liquidated liabilities, because we had such an income.

The reason why some of our affiliated societies have not yet paid their annual contribution, and why others have

Names of affiliated societies	Gifts and Entrance Fees 1866			Contributions 1867		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
London, Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein	2	0	0	0	0	0
London, French Branch	0	0	0	0	4	9
Central Section of Polish Exiles	0	0	0	0	4	10
Operative Bricklayers' Executive	0	0	0	1	0	0
No. 1 Lodge of Operative Bricklayers	0	8	0	0	0	0
Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Society	10	0	0	1	13	4
West End Cabinet-Makers' Society	5	0	0	1	7	0
Day Working Bookbinders' Society	0	8	3	0	17	6
Hand-in-Hand Coopers' Society	6	0	0	0	6	0
London Cigar-Makers' Association	5	0	0	1	9	0
Amalgamated Cordwainers' Executive	5	0	0	0	0	0
Darlington Section of ditto	0	5	0	0	0	0
Nottingham Section of ditto	0	5	0	0	2	1
Coventry and Warwickshire Ribbon-Weavers	0	5	0	1	9	0
Packing-Case Makers	1	5	4	0	0	0
Saddlers and Harness Makers	4	0	0	0	0	0
Kendal Shoemakers' Society	0	5	0	0	1	8
West End Ladies' Boot-Makers	6	0	0	0	10	0
London Operative Tailors	3	0	0	0	0	0
Darlington Section of Amalgamated Tailors	0	5	0	0	1	8
SOCIETIES AFFILIATED SINCE SEPT., 1866						
London Basket-Makers' Society	0	5	0	0	0	0
Block-Printers of Lancashire	0	5	0	2	1	8
London Coach-Builders	0	5	0	0	0	0
Coach-Trimmers (The Globe)	0	5	0	0	1	$10^1/_2$
Coach-Trimmers (The Crown)	0	5	0	0	5	0
Elastic Web-Weavers	0	5	0	0	5	0
United Excavators	0	5	0	0	0	0
French Polishers	0	5	0	0	0	0
Organ-Builders	0	5	0	0	2	1
Pattern-Drawers and Block-Cutters	0	5	0	0	0	0
Carpenters and Joiners' Executive	0	0	0	2	0	0
United Society of Journeyman Curriers (joined August 27)	0	0	0	0	0	0
National Reform League	0	5	0	0	2	6

PAID FOR CONGRESS FUND

West End Ladies' Boot-Makers	4	10	0
London Cigar-Makers	1	1	0
Elastic Web-Weavers	1	0	0
——	0	10	0
Basket-Makers	0	12	6

not contributed to the Congress fund, is severe pressure upon their funds in consequence of the stagnation of trade, strikes, and lock-outs.

We have received several letters, stating these as reasons why the same societies that contributed so handsomely towards the Congress fund last year, cannot give anything this year. The tailors' strike has absorbed all the available funds of the London trades societies.[378]

Continental and American Sections

As a rule, the General Council only corresponds with individual branches abroad, where police restrictions prevent the formation of branches.[379]

In Belgium an attempt has been made to affiliate trades societies, but we have no information about the result, nor have we received any contributions.

Germany is still in an unsettled state. Citizen Philipp Becker, the President of the German section at Geneva, has succeeded in establishing several branches, but we have no particulars at present.

In Italy there is a regular working men's organisation with whose officers we are in correspondence, but formal affiliations have not yet taken place.

In the New World, we have two affiliated branches at New York and Hoboken, N.J. We are in correspondence with the National Labour Union Committee, and the President of the International Ironmoulders' Union.[380] Particulars will be found in the special report of the American Secretary.*

* See pp. 304-10 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

General Remarks

The past year has been characterised by intense struggles and agitation. In America, in England, in France, in Belgium strikes, lock-outs, persecution and prosecution of the working class have been the order of the day.

The capitalists have perseveringly treated the workmen as nobodies who only exist obsequiously to submit.

One society in the United States has spent 70,000 dols.[381] to resist the encroachments of the capitalists; in England it has been decided in the courts of law that to rob the funds of trades unions is not punishable by law. An official inquiry into the working of trades unions has been instituted with a view to damage their character and to affix to them the stigma of being criminal in their proceedings.

The wholesale prosecutions of the London master tailors against their men, the attitude of magistrates, judges, and the daily press, the convictions of the Paris tailors and the massacre at Marchienne, are facts that demonstrate incontrovertibly that society consists but of two hostile classes—the oppressors and the oppressed—and that nothing short of a solitary union of the sons of toil throughout the world will ever redeem them from their present thraldom. We therefore conclude with the motto: *Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!*[382]

Published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 309, September 14, 1867

Printed according to the newspaper text

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION (SEPTEMBER 1866 TO AUGUST 27, 1867)[383]

The first event relating to the province of the American Secretary which claims notice after my acceptance of that post was the arrival in England of the September [1866] number of the *Ironmoulders' International Journal* published at Philadelphia by W. H. Sylvis, editor of the same and President of the International Ironmoulders' Union. This number contained a lengthy report of the first National Labour Congress of the working-class delegates of the United States, which had been held in Baltimore in the course of the preceding month. A résumé of the proceedings thereof and the resolutions in full were published in the *Commonwealth* in the course of October 1866. Particular attention was drawn to the fact that the Baltimore Congress had been made aware of the fact that a European Labour Congress was about to assemble at Geneva and that it had passed a resolution authorising the Executive Committee of the National Labour Union, then and there formed, to send a representative to the next European Labour Congress.

From the above-named journal I learnt that the corresponding secretary of the United States National Labour Union was William Gibson of *New Haven* in the State of Connecticut. It is only since the beginning of August of this year that I discovered that this was a mistake and that Mr. Gibson's address was *Norwich* (not New Haven), Connecticut. This error on the part of the compilers of the

report of the Congress has been almost fatal to the operations of my department.

I did not however immediately attempt to open up communications with Secretary Gibson for this reason; because, I thought, the best possible overture would be the official report of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress. The causes of the delay in the publication of that report have been stated in the general report of the General Council. Their enumeration does not belong here.

In or about December of last year, Citizen Orsini came to the General Council and gave us the names of five European Socialists in New York with whom he exhorted us to correspond and who, he begged, might be entrusted with powers to act for the Association in the United States. Five letters were accordingly dispatched to the citizens named by Orsini but neither I nor the General Secretary have ever received any response to any one of them. Thus my first actual overture proved abortive.

Orsini also informed the General Council that the existence of the International Association was noised abroad in New York and that Mr. Wendell Phillips, the great abolitionist and radical orator of Massachusetts, had declared himself ready to lecture gratuitously for the benefit of the International Working Men's Association, if he saw any good likely to accrue therefrom; also that James Stephens, the Irish democrat and nationalist, had taken a card of membership of our Association.

In the month of March 1867, the report of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress in the English language began to appear in the *International Courier* of London. So soon as four numbers had appeared, i.e., in the month of April, I dispatched the said series of four numbers of the *International Courier* to four persons; namely, one batch to Secretary Gibson at his presumed address, a second to the above-named W. H. Sylvis, a third to the editor of the *Voice*, a daily newspaper devoted to the interests of the

working classes and published in Boston, Massachusetts, and a fourth to the editor of the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago, Illinois, the leading working-class organ in the Western States of the American Union. The newspapers directed to Secretary Gibson were accompanied by a letter setting forth the importance which the General Council attached to the existence of intimate relations and frequent correspondence between the General Council and the Executive Committee of the National Labour Union of the United States.

No response has ever been received to this letter and no acknowledgement of receipt of the journals has ever come to hand, but the explanation of this silence is that the letter and papers were addressed to New Haven instead of to Norwich.

One good result of the dispatch of the batches of newspapers ensued. The editor of the *International Courier* began about May to receive copies of the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate*, and an exchange between the two journals was effected. From that time forth, the said editor, Citizen Joseph Collet by name, has not ceased to give weekly extracts from the columns of the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate*.

The report of the proceedings of the Geneva Congress was completed on May 1, and I immediately dispatched marked copies of the full report to the aforesaid four addresses.

Portions of this report have been reproduced in the *Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago. Whether either of the other two papers took notice of the same, I have no means of knowing.

In the spring of this year, the General Council were requested by their correspondents at Lyons to make it known in the United States that hundreds of silk-weavers, discontented with their situation at home, were desirous of emigrating to the United States and planting their

special industry there, if any American capitalists would defray the cost of their passage out and establishment there. I was directed by the General Council to write to several American newspapers and to several prominent statesmen on the subject. I did so, and the letters were taken out by Citizen Koczek, a Pole, who was starting for New York. I have never, however, received any response to these letters, nor have I heard from Citizen Koczek since his departure.

In June, I was directed by the General Council to write to W. H. Sylvis to crave assistance for the London tailors on strike. I wrote accordingly on June 11 and took advantage of the opening to state my disappointment at not having heard from Secretary Gibson. I asked Mr. Sylvis to give me the name of another official of the National Labour Union. His reply, dated June 24,* informed me of the reasons why the American iron trades could not respond favourably to the General Council's appeal and also gave me the name and address of William J. Jessup, of New York, as the man to apply to in connection with the National Labour Union.

After laying this letter before the General Council, I received instructions to write without delay to William Jessup, informing him of the date of the Lausanne Congress and stating how glad the General Council would be to have an American delegate there. I wrote accordingly on July 19. I also recapitulated the circumstances of my abortive attempt to reach Secretary Gibson and sent my new correspondent the official report of the Geneva Congress.

To this letter I received a reply dated August 9th. This letter expresses the writer's joy at the prospect of a closer intercommunication between the working men of the Old and New Worlds and especially with those of

* The French text here has "June 25".—*Ed.*

Britain. He thinks that when the National Labour Congress shall have met at Chicago (i.e., August 19) it will be too late to send a delegate to Lausanne. He adds that in making his report to the National Labour Congress, of which body he is the Vice-President and Corresponding Officer for the State of New York, he will read my letter "believing [it to be] of sufficient importance to make public". He promises to keep the General Council well informed of what is done by the Chicago Congress. Citizen Jessup announces that whether he is re-elected an officer of the National Labour Congress or not (although I have no doubt he will be so re-elected) he will be glad to exchange papers and maintain a correspondence with the General Council in the capacity of Corresponding Secretary of the New York Working Men's Union.

Although Citizen Jessup is of opinion that it will be too late for the Chicago Congress to take action, yet it is right to say that I have seen an editorial statement in a recent number of the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate* to the effect that the propriety of sending a delegate to Lausanne will be one of the first questions that will be brought before the Chicago Congress.

At the beginning of this month Citizen Marx communicated to me a letter from F. A. Sorge in the name of the Hoboken branch of the International Working Men's Association and the Statutes of the Communist Club in New York which had also adhered to our Association.

Also at the beginning of this month, the editor of the London *International Courier* showed me the address, in pamphlet form, of the Executive of the National Labour Union to the working men of the United States, convoking them to send delegates to the Chicago Congress. On the title-page of this pamphlet was written the name and address of Secretary William Gibson, and only then did I become aware of the mistake into which I had been led without any fault of my own, as to his address. Sighing

over the loss of valuable time, I can only repeat the well-known proverb, "Better late than never!"

The eight hours' movement. The agitation among the American working classes for more leisure, popularly called the eight hours' movement, occupied the attention of the Geneva Congress. It may not therefore be out of place to state the substance of what I know has been done in this matter during the past year. The movement ripened with great rapidity and immediately found an echo in Congress and the State Legislatures. In Congress (the Federal Legislature) an eight hours' bill was only lost by a tie vote.

Several of the State Legislatures have enacted that in the absence of any agreement to the contrary, a legal industrial day shall consist of eight hours. In the State of New York, such an act has been passed, but the working classes have not yet ventured to demand that it shall be put in operation. The working men of that state have lately held a delegate meeting to consult on the policy to be pursued. It was resolved that a simultaneous and general demand to put the act in force should be made on the 1st of November next, without reduction of wages, if possible, *with* a reduction of wages, if necessary. In most cases it appears from the debates of the assembly that a reduction of wages will be proposed by the working men.

In the State of California, an eight hours' act has not yet been carried. Nevertheless for the last nineteen months, the eight-hour system has prevailed there. My last news from the state, however, is that the employers had struck against that system and that a widespread cessation of labour had been the consequence of their reactionary attempt.

The narrative of my, in the main, unsuccessful but still promising operations is now concluded. I will now touch on two other topics.

The first is that of cheaper postage with the United States. I am glad to inform the Council that on the 1st of January next, the half-ounce letter rate between the United Kingdom and the United States will be reduced from 1s. to 6d., according to a postal treaty just concluded.

The second and last is to give the names and addresses of persons in America, to whom I would refer my successor.

1. W. H. Sylvis, Editor, *Ironmoulders' International Journal,* and President of the Ironmoulders' International Union. Box 2, 357. Philadelphia.

2. Mr. Cameron, Editor, *Workingman's Advocate.* Chicago. Illinois.

3. F. A. Sorge; Box 101, Hoboken, New Jersey.

4. William C. Gibson, Secretary, National Labour Union. Box 1,055. Norwich. Connecticut.

5. William J. Jessup, Vice-President of the National Labour Union and the Secretary of the New York Working Men's Union. 11, Norfolk St., New York City.

6. *The Workingman's Advocate,* 72, Fifth St., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

PETER FOX, Secretary of the United States,
August 27, 1867

Approved by the General Council on August 27, 1867
Published for the first time

Printed according to the Minute Book for 1866-68

BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31st, 1867

Income

British Section:

	£	s.	d.
Contributions of Affiliated Bodies	15	15	10½
Entrance Fees	3	0	0
Contributions to Congress Fund[384]	7	13	6
Contributions of Individual Members	9	18	7
Total of the British Section	36	7	11½
Contributions of the French Section	15	7	5
Contributions of the Swiss Section	9	10	4
By Loan	2	10	0
Total from all sources	63	15	8½

Expenditure

	£	s.	d.
Postage	11	10	11
Printing and Newspapers	5	5	10½
Books and Stationery	0	11	9½
Rent and Gas	10	7	6
Sundries	1	9	11½
Delegates to [the] Congress	12	0	0
Total of Current Expenditures	41	15	11½
Old Liabilities Liquidated	21	10	0
Balance in Hand	0	9	9
Total	63	15	8½

Examined and found correct.

JOHN HALES
ZÉVY MAURICE } Auditors

For the Congress: *E. DUPONT*, President

J. G. ECCARIUS
J. Ph. BECKER } Vice-Presidents

J. GUILLAUME
J. VASSEUR
K. BÜRKLI
BÜCHNER } [Secretaries]

Published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* No. 310, September 21, 1867

Printed according to the newspaper text

THE FENIAN PRISONERS AT MANCHESTER AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[385]

At a special meeting of the General Council of the I. W. A. held at the office 16, Castle Street, East, W., on Wednesday evening the following memorial was adopted:

"Memorial of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.

"To the Right Hon. Gathorne-Hardy, her Majesty's Secretary of State.

"The memorial of the undersigned, representing working men's associations in all parts of Europe, showeth:

"That the execution of the Irish prisoners condemned to death at Manchester will greatly impair the moral influence of England upon the European Continent. The Execution of the four prisoners resting upon the same evidence and the same verdict which, by the free pardon of Maguire, have been officially declared, the one false, the other erroneous, will bear the stamp not of a judicial act, but of political revenge. But even if the verdict of the Manchester jury and the evidence it rests upon had not been tainted by the British Government itself, the latter would now have to choose between the blood-handed practices of old Europe and the magnanimous humanity of the young Transatlantic Republic.

"The commutation of the sentence for which we pray will be an act not only of justice, but of political wisdom.

"By order of the General Council of the I. W. Association,

"JOHN WESTON, Chairman
R. SHAW, Secretary for America
EUGÈNE DUPONT, Secretary for France
KARL MARX, Secretary for Germany
HERMANN JUNG, Secretary for Switzerland
P. LAFARGUE, Secretary for Spain
ZABICKI, Secretary for Poland
DERKINDEREN, Secretary for Holland
BESSON, Secretary for Belgium
G. ECCARIUS, General Secretary"

20 November, 1867

Written by K. Marx in English
Published in *Le Courrier Français* No. 163, November 24, 1867

Printed according to the copy of Marx's MS made by Marx's wife
Published for the first time in English

TO THE SECRETARIES AND MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[386]

Citizens,—As the General Council intends issuing a report on the present state of the working population, you are desired to furnish whatever authentic information you may be able to procure respecting the state and the condition of the work-people of your respective localities, if possible within a month. The secretaries of the affiliated trades societies will oblige by answering the following questions:—1. The name of society? 2. The number of its members? 3. What are the customary hours of labour? 4. What is the customary rate of wages? 5. Is employment constant or fluctuating? 6. What number has been out of work during the last three months? 7. Are those in work fully employed? 8. Has any advance or reduction of wages taken place within the last five years? 9. Has co-operative production been tried, and with what success?

The Council will esteem it a favour if, in addition to answering these questions, they can give any other information, either about their own or any trade in particular, or of the state of the working population in their neighbourhood in general, and whether any special endeavours are being made to improve the condition of the poor and with what success.

Adopted by the General Council on January 28, 1868

Published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* No. 331, February 15, 1868

Printed according to the newspaper text

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[387]

Fellow working men! With the view of eliciting an unmistakable expression of opinion from the great body of the members of the International Working Men's Association, the last Congress recommended the Council to submit to you the following questions for deliberation, and we solicit your favour to return your conclusions respecting them at the earliest opportunity.

1. The practicability of organising a system of credit and co-operative exchanges—facilitated by the use of paper money—amongst the various associations of working men.

2. What are the effects of the use of machinery upon the condition of the labouring poor?

3. The advisability of drawing up a definite programme for the technical, and a comprehensive secular education of the children of the poor.

4. The land, mines, canals, highways, railroads, etc.; ought they to be the property of private individuals and worked for their personal profit, or would it be expedient to convert them into public property and work them for the community at large.

5. The policy of strikes, and the advisability of insisting upon the establishment of the courts of arbitration.

It will depend upon the answers returned to these questions, whether any of them shall form a part of the programme of the next congress to be held at Brussels in the first week of September next.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Hon. General Secretary

Approved by the General Council on January 28, 1868
Published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* No. 331, February 15, 1868, as well as in *Der Vorbote* No. 2, February 1868 and *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 12, March 22, 1868

Printed according to *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*

THE GENEVA LOCK-OUT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *STAR*

Sir,—As various false statements respecting the Geneva lock-out have found their way into the London papers, we solicit your favour to give publicity to the following in your journal.

As the promoters of the International Working Men's Association never entertained the idea of establishing an international medium for the settlement of wages disputes, the General Council has never yet been appealed to for advice, and has, consequently, no opportunity of instigating or provoking strikes. According to Rule 11, every society joining preserves its existing organisation intact. Hence it follows that every affiliated society manages its own special affairs without any reference whatever to the International Working Men's Association. Strikes were condemned on principle by the Geneva Congress; co-operative production was declared to be the only means to a permanent solution of the labour question.[388] At Lausanne the discussion of the question of courts of arbitration was recommended with a view of putting a stop to strikes. The Association, as such, never interferes in trade matters, but it uses its influence, when appealed to, in cases of strikes and lock-outs, to prevent the workmen of one country being used as industrial mercenaries against the workmen of another; and in cases of need it solicits pecuniary aid. So, far from the General Council having had a hand in the getting up of the Geneva dispute, it was not even aware that the building trades there were trying for a rise, until on the 3rd of March a notice to that effect, published in

the *Voix de l'Avenir*, was announced in the regular weekly meeting.

In accordance with Rule 6,* Geneva has been selected as the seat of the Central Committee for Switzerland. A few months ago all the affiliated societies of Geneva amalgamated their sick and funeral funds and appointed a committee, consisting of the delegates of the various trades, as their executive. This committee was also charged with carrying on the correspondence with the local societies of Switzerland and the General Council of London. Hence it is the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for Switzerland. On trade matters it performs the same functions as an English trades council for all the trades it represents. In January last the men in the building trades appealed to their employers for an interview to discuss their grievances. The employers never answered their application, but set to work to form an association for their own purposes. In the meantime the men of each trade made out a "log", demanding a rise of about 10 per cent upon their wages, and a reduction of the hours of labour from twelve to ten per day. After the condemnation of the Paris Committee,[389] the masters broke their silence, and told the men that they would not employ them on any terms unless they renounced their connection with the International Working Men's Association.

By order of the General Council,

R. SHAW, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Hon. Gen. Sec.

16, Castle Street, East, W., April 4

Drawn up by Eccarius
Approved by the Standing Committee on April 4, 1868
Published in *The Evening Star*, April 6, 1868

Printed according to the newspaper text

* See p. 267 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

TO THE TRADES' UNIONISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND[390]

Fellow Working Men,

Nearly four years have elapsed since a small number of working men, belonging to different countries, convened a public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, at which the International Working Men's Association was established. They were doing the right thing at the right time. During that space of time the Association has acquired a position that no other organisation has ever attained in Europe. It is neither a rival of, nor in conflict with, any working men's organisations; on the contrary, it aims at utilising and extending the influence of existing organisations in all countries, by endeavouring to bring about a common understanding and promoting common action between them.

As to its character, though it advocates complete political freedom, it is not a political association in the old acceptation of the term. While aiding all progressive movements it avoids the contending factions, well knowing how futile it would be to expect any real amelioration in the condition of the labouring poor by trusting to the capitalists as a class. Slanderers assert that the Association has provoked strikes, it has not done any such thing; but it has enabled working men to resist lock-outs, and successfully terminate strikes rendered inevitable by the encroachments, bad faith, and wanton conduct of employers.

The fundamental principle of the Association is, that the produce of labour ought to be the property of the producer; that the *brotherhood of labour* should be the basis of society; and that the working men of all countries should

throw aside their petty jealousies and national antipathies, and make common cause with each other in their struggle with capital. Labour is of no country! Working men have the same evils to contend with everywhere. Capital is but accumulated labour. Why should the labourer be the slave to that which he has himself produced? Too long have the capitalists profited by the national isolation of the sons of toil. Foreign competition has always furnished a plea for the reduction of wages. For a long time the Trades' Unions of this Kingdom sufficed to keep wages up. Free trade has worked a change. The Continental workmen work longer hours, for less money, than the British do. If this country is yet producing cheaper than others, it is due to a higher development of her machinery. The distance in the race between the British and the Continental manufacturer for the prices in the markets of the world is rapidly diminishing; the British is ahead, but only just ahead.

These facts ought to convince the British workmen of the importance of the International Association. It has everywhere on the Continent fostered the *formation of Trades' Unions*, and served as an engine for their common and fraternal action. In France its action in the lock-out of the Paris bronze-workers was characteristic. 1,500 men were locked out and 4,000 more threatened to be locked out, unless they abandoned their newly-formed trades' society—one of the first that was formed after the British model. By the aid of the International Association that combination of employers was defeated. Since then trades' unions have become naturalised in France, and the government, alarmed at the progress of the International Association, has again and again tried to suppress it by fining and imprisoning the Executive Committee of Paris. In Switzerland the strike in the building trades of Geneva resulted in a reduction of the hours of labour and an increase of wages per day, but the masters only gave in after they had ascertained to what extent the men received supplies from

abroad. Instead of crushing the Association, the action of the master builders has tended to increase its influence.

In Belgium the International Association has played an equally prominent part. In consequence of the general crisis in the metal trades, the directors of the mines resolved upon working only four days a week. To make sure of the shareholders' dividends they gave peremptory notice of a ten per cent reduction of wages. The miners refused to continue working on such conditions, and the over-anxious government tried the persuasive influence of powder and lead upon them; many were killed, many more were wounded, and imprisoned. At that stage the Brussels Committee stepped in. They procured medical aid for the wounded, pecuniary support for the bereft, and counsel for the imprisoned. Since then they have succeeded in establishing a miners' union in the coal basin of Charleroi. The untutored miners have thus been brought within the bonds of labour's brotherhood which will be a safeguard against their oppressors riding rough-shod over them on a future day.

In Germany, on the occasion of Count Bismarck proposing a reform of the tariff, the Chamber of Commerce of Barmen and Elberfeld (the Prussian Manchester) objected on the ground that the Prussian manufacturers could not compete with the English without a reduction of wages—a course that could not be pursued without danger in the face of the rapidly spreading influence and prompt action of the International Association.

In countries where the development of modern industry has not yet led to open war, its members content themselves with quietly propagating the principles held by their fellow workmen in the more advanced countries. The London Council is also in correspondence with the officers of the great Labour Reform Movement in the United States.

To British trades' societies it has rendered signal service, by furnishing special information from abroad when

required, and by circulating correct accounts of their disputes all over the Continent, and thus prevented the employers obtaining foreign labour to supplant that of their own men. In the accusation against the Paris Committee the imperial prosecutor stated one of the chief reasons for demanding the condemnation of its members was that they had not only brought an excessive influence to bear upon all strikes in France, but had efficiently supported those in foreign countries, and as instances he stated that during the strikes of the English zinc-workers, tailors, and railway *employées*, the Paris Committee had prevented French workmen from proceeding to England.

The ever-ready cry of the British capitalists that wages must be reduced because the workmen on the Continent work longer hours for less money than the British, can only be effectually met by endeavouring to approximate the hours of labour and the rate of wages throughout Europe. This is one of the missions of the International Working Men's Association, and its annual congresses one of the most efficient means to accomplish it. At those gatherings the spokesmen of the working classes of different countries meet each other face to face. The exchange of ideas which is brought about in the private conversations outside the regular meetings exercises as great, if not a greater, influence than the regular debates. It is there where everybody says what he has to say, and makes inquiries as to what people think of kindred topics elsewhere. At the London Conference of 1865[391] the French and Swiss delegates expressed it as their conviction that trades' unionism would never take root on the Continent. At the Congress of 1867* there were upwards of 40 delegates representing Continental trades' societies formed on the British model. The seed that had been sown in London had borne fruit.

* Of the International Working Men's Association at Lausanne. —*Ed.*

The next congress will assemble on the first Monday of September next, at Brussels, a few hours' journey from England. Brussels was selected at the last congress with the view of enabling the British workmen to send a greater number of delegates than they had been able to send to Switzerland. To make the British delegation a really respectable one the Council urges the affiliated societies to send as many delegates as possible.

Societies joining before the end of August will be entitled to send delegates of their own. Affiliated societies who do not consider it advisable to send delegates of their own, and trades' societies desirous of rendering assistance are solicited to contribute towards defraying the expense of delegates appointed by the Council.

Amongst the questions that will be submitted for deliberation are: 1. Reduction of the hours of labour. 2. The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists. 3. Property in land. 4. The education of the working class. 5. The establishment of credit institutions to promote and facilitate the social emancipation of the working class. 6. The best means to establish co-operative production.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

H. JUNG, Chairman
R. SHAW, Treasurer
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary

256, High Holborn, London, W.C.
Money orders to be made payable to the Secretary at the Charing Cross Office, W.C.

Drawn up by Hales, Lafargue, and Copeland; approved at the General Council meeting of July 7, 1868
Published as a leaflet in London in July 1868

Printed according to the leaflet text

THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[392]

The year 1867-68 will mark an epoch in the history of the Association. After a period of peaceable development it has assumed dimensions powerful enough to provoke the bitter denunciations of the ruling classes and the hostile demonstrations of governments. It has entered upon the phases of strife.

The French Government took, of course, the lead in the reactionary proceedings against the working classes. Already last year we had to signalise some of its underhand manoeuvres. It meddled with our correspondence, seized our Statutes, and the Congress documents. After many fruitless steps to get them back, they were at last given up only under the official pressure of Lord Stanley, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs.

But the Empire has this year thrown off the mask and tried to directly annihilate the International Association by *coups de police* and judiciary prosecution. Begot by the struggle of classes, of which the days of June, 1848, are the grandest expression, it could not but assume alternately the attitudes of the official saviour of the Bourgeoisie and of the paternal protector of the Proletariat. The growing power of the International having manifested itself in the strikes of Roubaix, Amiens, Paris, Geneva, &c., reduced our would-be patron to the necessity of turning our Society to his own account or of destroying it. In the beginning he was ready enough to strike a bargain on very moderate terms. The manifesto of the Parisians read at

the Congress of Geneva[393] having been seized at the French frontier, our Paris Executive demanded of the Minister of the Interior the reasons of this seizure. M. Rouher then invited one of the members of the Committee to an interview, in the course of which he declared himself ready to authorise the entry of the manifesto on the condition of some modifications being inserted. On the refusal of the delegate of the Paris Executive, he added, "Still, if you would introduce some words of gratitude to the Emperor, who has done so much for the working classes, one might see what could be done."

M. Rouher's, the sub-Emperor's, insinuation was met by a blank rebuff. From that moment the Imperial Government looked out for a pretext to suppress the Association. Its anger was heightened by the anti-chauvinist agitation on the part of our French members after the German war. Soon after, when the Fenian panic had reached its climax, the General Council addressed to the English Government a petition demanding the commutation of the sentence of the three victims of Manchester, and qualifying their hanging as an act of political revenge. At the same time it held public meetings in London for the defence of the rights of Ireland. The Empire, always anxious to deserve the good graces of the British Government, thought the moment propitious for laying hands upon the International. It caused nocturnal perquisitions to be made, eagerly rummaged the private correspondence, and announced with much noise that it had discovered the centre of the Fenian conspiracy, of which the International was denounced as one of the principal organs.[394] All its laborious researches, however, ended in nothing. The public prosecutor himself threw down his brief in disgust. The attempt at converting the International Association into a secret society of conspirators having miserably broken down, the next best thing was to prosecute our Paris branch as a non-authorised society of more than 20 members.[395] The French judges, trained

by the Imperialist discipline, hastened, of course, to order the dissolution of the Association and the imprisonment of its Paris Executive. The tribunal had the *naïveté* to declare in the preamble of its judgment that the existence of the French Empire was incompatible with a working men's association that dared to proclaim truth, justice, and morality as its leading principles. The consequences of these prosecutions made themselves felt in the departments, where paltry vexations on the part of the Prefects succeeded to the condemnations of Paris. This Governmental chicanery, however, so far from annihilating the Association, has given it a fresh impulse by forcing the Empire to drop its patronising airs to the working classes.

In Belgium the International Association has made immense strides. The coal lords of the basin of Charleroi, having driven their miners to riots by incessant exactions, let loose upon those unarmed men the armed force which massacred many of them. It was in [the] midst of the panic thus created that our Belgian branch took up the cause of the miners, disclosed their miserable economical condition, rushed to the rescue of the families of the dead and wounded, and procured legal counsel for the prisoners, who were finally all of them acquitted by the jury.[396] After the affair of Charleroi the success of the International in Belgium was assured. The Belgian Minister of Justice, Jules Bara, denounced the International Association in the Chamber of Deputies and made of its existence the principal pretext for the renewal of the law against foreigners. He even dared to threaten he should prevent the Brussels Congress from being held. The Belgian Government ought at last to understand that petty States have no longer any *raison d'être* in Europe except they be the asylums of liberty.

In Italy, the progress of the Association has been impeded by the reaction following close upon the ambuscade of Mentana[397]; one of the first consequences was the re-

striction put upon the right of association and public meeting. But the numerous letters which have come to our hands fully prove that the Italian working class is more and more asserting its individuality quite independently of the old parties.

In Prussia, the International cannot exist legally, on account of a law which forbids all relations with foreign societies.[398] Moreover, in regard to the General Union of the German Working Men, the Prussian Government has imitated Bonapartism on a shabby scale. Always ready to fall foul of each other, the military Governments are cheek by jowl when entering upon a crusade against their common enemy, the working classes. In spite, however, of all these petty tribulations, small groups spread over the whole surface of Germany had long since rallied round our Geneva centre.[399] The General Union of the German Working Men, whose branches are mostly confined to Northern Germany, have in their recent Congress held at Hamburg decided to act in concert with the International Working Men's Association,[400] although debarred from joining it officially. In the programme of the Nuremberg Congress, representing upwards of 100 working men's societies, which mostly belong to Middle and Southern Germany, the direct adhesion to the International has been put on the order of the day. At the request of their leading committee we have sent a delegate to Nuremberg.*

In Austria the working-class movement assumes a more and more revolutionary aspect. In the beginning of September a congress was to meet at Vienna, aiming at the fraternisation of the working men of the different races of the Empire. They had also sent an address to the English and French working men, in which they declared for the principles of the International. Your General Council had already appointed a delegate to Vienna** when the Liberal

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*
** Fox.—*Ed.*

Government of Austria, on the very point of succumbing to the blows of the feudal reaction, had the shrewdness to stir the anger of the working men by prohibiting their congress.

In the struggle maintained by the building trades of Geneva the very existence of the International in Switzerland was put on its trial. The employers made it a preliminary condition of coming to any terms with their workmen that the latter should forsake the International. The working men indignantly refused to comply with this dictate. Thanks to the aid received from France, England, Germany, &c., through the medium of the International, they have finally obtained a diminution of one hour of labour and 10 per cent increase of wages. Already deeply rooted in Switzerland, the International has witnessed since that event a rapid increase in the number of its members. In the month of August last the German working men residing in Switzerland (about 50 societies) passed at their Congress in Neuenburg a unanimous vote of adhesion to the International.[401]

In England the unsettled state of politics, the dissolution of the old parties, and the preparations for the coming electoral campaign have absorbed many of our most active members, and, to some degree, retarded our propaganda. Nevertheless, we have entered into correspondence with numerous provincial trades' unions, many of which have sent in their adhesion. Among the more recent London affiliations those of the Curriers' Society and the City Men's Shoemakers are the most considerable as regards numbers.

Your General Council is in constant communication with the National Labour Union of the United States. On its last Congress of August, 1867, the American Union had resolved to send a delegate to the Brussels Congress, but, pressed for time, was unable to take the special measures necessary for carrying out the vote.

The latent power of the working classes of the United States has recently manifested itself in the legal establishment of a working day of eight hours in all the workshops of the Federal Government, and in the passing [of] laws to the same effect by many State Legislatures. However, at this very moment the working men of New York, for example, are engaged in a fierce struggle for enforcing the eight hours' law, against the resistance of rebellious capital. This fact proves that even under the most favourable political conditions all serious success of the proletariat depends upon an organisation that unites and concentrates its forces; and even its national organisation is still exposed to split on the disorganisation of the working classes in other countries, which one and all compete in the market of the world, acting and reacting the one upon the other. Nothing but an international bond of the working classes can ever ensure their definitive triumph. This want has given birth to the International Working Men's Association. That Association has not been hatched by a sect or a theory. It is the spontaneous growth of the proletarian movement, which itself is the offspring of the natural and irrepressible tendencies of modern society. Profoundly convinced of the greatness of its mission, the International Working Men's Association will allow itself neither to be intimidated nor misled. Its destiny, henceforward, coalesces with the historical progress of the class that bear in their hands the regeneration of mankind.

London, September 1

Written by K. Marx
Published in *The Times*, September 9, 1868; in *Der Vorbote* No. 9, September 1868; and in the supplement to *Le Peuple Belge*: "Troisième congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel", Bruxelles, 1868

Printed according to *The Times*

EXPLANATORY NOTES

INDEXES

EXPLANATORY NOTES

[1] The leading body of the International Working Men's Association, elected at the inaugural meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864, was originally called the Central Council. When national central committees uniting the International's sections in each country began to appear, the Central Council in London gradually came to be known as the General Council. This name was fixed in the Rules approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866 (see pp. 265-68 of the present volume).

The announcement about the change of the Council's name was given in the report of a regular Council meeting published in *The Commonwealth* No. 188, October 13, 1866. Nevertheless, in the years that followed, in the documents written in English the old name of the Council was used alongside the new one. This is partly to be explained by the Council's continuing use for some time of the seal and headed note-paper obtained during the first year of the International's activities.

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[2] In the summer of 1866, when new railway lines were being laid, large-scale excavations were in progress in the London suburbs. When one of the construction firms, Brothers Waring, tried to replace local labour by Belgians at lower rates, this caused trouble between the English and Belgian excavators. The General Council began to discuss this question for the first time on August 21, 1866 (see *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference, 1865. Minutes*, Moscow, p. 226. In the references given below this book is simply referred to as *The General Council. 1864-1866*). At its meeting on August 28, at which James Lee, the Secretary of the United Excavators' Society, was present, the General Council adopted the following resolution: "That in case the Excavators' Society takes steps to form a branch in the district where the disturbance occurred, that the Central Council send a delegate speaking the Belgian language to accompany the excavators' delegates to induce the Belgians to join the Excavators' Society." The General Council committed itself

to use its influence to prevent the importation of any more Belgian workers at reduced prices (*ibid.*, p. 424).

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[3] In August 1866, employers declared a lock-out involving over 700 Manchester tailors in reply to demands to regulate working hours and rates for different operations. These demands were put forward over the increasing use of machinery in the sewing industry. The Manchester tailors applied for backing to the Executive Committee of the London Operative Tailors' Protective Association, whose President was Matthew Lawrence. On September 12, a preliminary agreement was reached between the employers and the workers on a return to work.

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[4] The room at 18, Bouverie Street was rented in December 1865 at £10 per annum by the Industrial Newspaper Company, publishers of *The Workman's Advocate*, the official organ of the International Working Men's Association (see Note 8). The General Council used this room for its meetings and acted as sub-tenant, paying £5 a year. On September 29, 1866, the newspaper's editorial board moved to 282, The Strand. The General Council continued to use the room at 18, Bouverie Street until June 25, 1867.

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[5] Reference is to the General Council members—delegates to the Geneva Congress of the International held between September 3 and 8, 1866.

The Geneva Congress was attended by 60 delegates from the different sections of the International Association and workers' societies in Britain, France, Germany, and Switzerland. Hermann Jung was in the chair. The Congress agenda, approved by the London Conference of September 1865, included 11 items. Marx, who was unable to go to Geneva, drew up his "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 340-51) that elaborated on and made more explicit the first programme documents of the International. The "Instructions" were read at he Geneva Congress as the General Council's official report. The Proudhonists, who commanded one-third of the Congress votes, counterposed Marx's "Instructions" with a comprehensive programme on all items on the Congress agenda put forward in a special essay (*Mémoire*). Of the nine points in Marx's "instructions", six were adopted as Congress resolutions: on the international union of forces, on shorter working hours, on child and female labour, on co-operative labour, on trade unions, and on the standing armies. The Congress adopted Johann Philipp Becker's resolution on the Polish question and approved the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.

Carter, Odger, Eccarius, and Jung attended the Geneva Congress as the General Council representatives, Dupont as the delegate from the French branch in London, Lawrence—from the London Tailors' Society, and Cremer—from the London Carpenters' Society.

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[6] At the General Council meeting on August 21, 1866, William Cremer and Friedrich Lessner put forward the demand to establish cheaper international postal rates. In proposing the resolution Cremer emphasised that the prevailing high postal rates seriously hampered the establishment of contacts between the workers of various countries. The Council decided "that the delegates at the Geneva Congress be requested to urge on their respective governments the necessity and advantages of a system of International and Ocean Penny Postage" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 227).

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[7] This refers to a small group of French students and workers, followers of Blanqui, who came to the Geneva Congress without any credentials. One of them, Protot, spoke at the first Congress meeting on September 3 and insisted that they be granted a deciding vote. He accused Tolain and Fribourg, members of the Paris Committee, of supporting the Bonapartists. This accusation had been repeatedly made by the bourgeois republicans before. On the insistence of the London delegates it was decided to allow the Blanqui supporters to participate in the Congress with voice but no vote. This did not suit them, however, and they left the Congress.

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[8] By order of the London Conference of 1865 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 239), the London weekly, *The Workman's Advocate*, was declared the International's official organ. On February 10, 1866 the paper was renamed *The Commonwealth* and was published until July 20, 1867. Marx was a member of the editorial board up to June 9, 1866. In February 1866 he succeeded in getting John George Eccarius appointed editor. The paper published reports of General Council meetings and other International documents. Opportunist trade-union leaders, however, contrived to nullify the influence of Marx's supporters and in April 1866 appointed George Odger editor-in-chief. Through the compromise policy pursued by the union leaders the paper gradually began to depart from the International's platform. On September 8, 1866 it declared itself to be the "Organ of the Reform Movement" and in fact became the organ of the radical bourgeoisie.

The Commonwealth No. 183, September 8, 1866, in addition to a small article of a general nature entitled "The Geneva

Congress", carried a notice, dated September 4, about the opening of this working men's congress; in addition, issue No. 184, September 15, published two reports, of September 6 and 10, which described the Congress proceedings in brief.

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[9] The next Council meeting heard a report of the deputation to the model pattern makers (see p. 39 of the present volume).

p. 34

[10] The weekly *La Voix de l'Avenir* was published from December 31, 1865 in La Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland) with the sub-title "Moniteur des sciences, du travail, des sociétés et associations ouvrières". On May 26, 1867, beginning with No. 21, this changed to "Journal de l'Association internationale des travailleurs". The newspaper, greatly influenced by the Proudhonists, was published by Pierre Coullery, a Swiss physician and judge, up to the end of 1868. It regularly carried information on the co-operative movement.

p. 34

[11] Reference is to Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (see Note 5).

p. 34

[12] *Grütli-Verein*—a petty-bourgeois reformist organisation founded in 1838 as an educational society of Swiss workers and artisans.

p. 35

[13] *The London Conference of the International Working Men's Association* was held between September 25 and 29, 1865. It was attended by General Council members and leaders of various sections.

The Conference heard the General Council's report and approved its financial report and the agenda of the forthcoming congress. The London Conference played a big role in the first years of the International when it was taking shape as an organisation. It was prepared and conducted under Marx's leadership.

The last Conference meeting, which was held on September 29, 1865 and which discussed a number of organisational and financial questions, adopted a decision defining the financial obligations of the International's sections in different countries to the General Council. In accordance with this decision, the French sections were to contribute £40 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 249).

p. 36

[14] According to the Rules of the International Working Men's Association, approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866, the General Council elected by the Congress was to select, from its

own members, the officers necessary for the business transactions. By nominating Marx for President the British members of the Council challenged the French Proudhonists who tried to get the Geneva Congress to adopt the view that persons not directly engaged in manual labour should neither hold official posts in working-class organisations nor even be admitted to them.

p. 36

[15] The election of Peter Fox as General Secretary instead of William Cremer, who had occupied the post for two years, showed that the reformist trade-union leaders in the International central bodies were in a weaker position. "At the Central Council meeting held last night," Marx wrote to Engels on September 26, 1866, "there were all kinds of dramatic scenes. Mr. Cremer, for example, almost broke a blood vessel when Fox was appointed General Secretary instead of him. He only just managed to control himself."

p. 36

[16] *The Standing Committee*, also known as the Sub-Committee, was the General Council's executive body that historically developed from the commission elected in October 1864 to draw up the programme documents of the International Association. The Standing Committee usually met every Saturday. Its members included the Council president (the post was abolished in September 1867), the vice-president, the treasurer, the general secretary, and corresponding secretaries for different countries. Marx exercised his day-by-day leadership of the General Council's work mainly through the Standing Committee, of which he was a member in his capacity as Corresponding Secretary for Germany.

p. 37

[17] See Note 4.

p. 38

[18] Reference is to the exact financial contributions to be made by the societies affiliated to the International.

p. 39

[19] A letter from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners thanking the General Council for the deputation it had sent them was read at the Council meeting of October 9, 1866 (see p. 44 of the present volume).

The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, founded in 1860, was one of the biggest and most influential trade unions on the London Trades Council. Robert Applegarth, its General Secretary, became an active member of the General Council from 1868. Despite the fact that many of the Society's local branches joined the International at various times, the question of the affiliation of the Society as a whole was never decided.

p. 39

[20] Charles Longuet was appointed Corresponding Secretary for Belgium at the Council meeting of January 16, 1866 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 159).

p. 40

[21] *Espiègle*—satirical weekly of an anti-Bonapartist and anti-clerical nature, was published in Brussels first in Flemish and then, from 1865, in French. Among its editors were French émigrés who kept in touch with the French petty-bourgeois émigrés in London and, in particular, with those in the French branch in London who were hostile to Marx (see Note 90). The newspaper featured the views of these émigrés in its columns.

p. 41

[22] *La Rive Gauche*—weekly journal, was published in Brussels from October 20, 1864 to August 5, 1866 by a group of French émigrés, Left republicans and Blanquists. Charles Longuet was one of its editors. Paul Lafargue, César De Paepe, and other members of the International contributed to the journal. It readily published documents of the International and carried announcements about its activities.

p. 41

[23] *La Tribune du Peuple*—Belgian democratic paper, was published in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869. The paper was founded by a group of workers and petty-bourgeois intellectuals, adherents to utopian socialism and members of an atheist society called The People. The paper, in effect, became the International's organ in Belgium in August 1865, and officially so in January 1866. De Paepe, Lafargue, and other members of the International Association collaborated with the paper.

La Tribune du People did not publish the announcement about the convocation of the Congress. Issue No. 35, September 2, 1866, carried a note stating that the editors did not know the date of the Congress.

p. 41

[24] The Belgian democrat Léon Fontaine who took part in the activities of the Belgian sections of the International attended the General Council meeting of June 26, 1866 held in London (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 203-04).

p. 41

[25] Reference is to the resolution adopted by the General Council on April 17, 1866 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 180).

p. 41

[26] Prudhomme and Buzon were appointed correspondents of the General Council for Bordeaux on April 17, 1866.

p. 42

[27] Marcheval, the Secretary of the Vienne branch of the International, in his letter of September 26, 1866, wrote that in Vienne

numbering 25,000 people one-third of the population were occupied in the cloth factories. The hard conditions of the workers, both men and women, were aggravated by the system of "workers' books" which were filled in by the employers, and vetted by the police. Without these "books" the workers could not leave the factory or get another job. Marcheval's letter, translated into English by Fox, was published in *The Working Man* No. 11, June 8, 1867.

p. 42

[28] Reference is to the weekly paper *The International Courier* (*Le Courrier International*) published in London from November 1864 to July 1867 in English and French. In 1867 the paper was the International's organ. Its editor, Joseph Collet, a French democrat and émigré in London, also published at the time the English weekly, *The Working Man*. In 1867 all these three periodicals regularly published General Council documents and reports of the International's activities.

p. 42

[29] *The World Exhibition of 1867* was held in Paris from April 1 to November 1. As during the 1862 World Exhibition in London, various bourgeois philanthropists and social reformers, including certain people close to Napoleon IIII's Government and the British Liberal Party, tried to utilise the growing interest of the workers of different countries in science and technology in order to bring them under their influence. The General Council and the leaders of the Paris section, however, endeavoured to use the visit of foreign workers to Paris to strengthen international ties and advance the ideas of the International Working Men's Association.

p. 42

[30] For details concerning the confiscation of the documents of the Geneva Congress of the International at the French frontier see the General Council's statement "The French Government and the International Association of Working Men" (pp. 271-76 of the present volume).

p. 43

[31] Dassy was elected delegate to the Geneva Congress by the Workers' Mutual Aid Society of Cerignola, of which Garibaldi was the Honorary President. The mandate was dated September 15, 1866.

p. 44

[32] Becker's opening speech at the Geneva Congress made on September 3, 1866 was published in full in *Der Vorbote* No. 9, September 1866, and issued as a separate leaflet. The English translation was given in *The Commonwealth* No. 199, December 29, 1866.

Der Vorbote—monthly organ of the German-speaking sections

of the International in Switzerland, was published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871; Becker was its editor-in-chief. *Der Vorbote* generally put forward the policy of Marx and the General Council and regularly published the documents of the International and information about the activities of the International's sections in the different countries. It widely circulated in Germany and did much to spread the ideas of the International there.

p. 44

[33] Pierre Vésinier, a French petty-bourgeois publicist, was arrested in Belgium on July 7, 1866 as the author of several pamphlets against Napoleon III, and prosecuted by the Belgian Government for *lèse majesté* with reference to the monarch of a foreign country.

p. 44

[34] Appeal of the English Journeyman Hairdressers' Early Closing Association to their Continental fellow-workmen was published in *The Commonwealth* No. 188, October 13, 1866. "With the sanction of the Central Council of the International Association," the appeal stated, "we ask you to give us your cordial support."

La Tribune du People No. 42, October 21, 1866, carried the following notification from the editors: "The London hairdressers have just come out on strike for shorter working hours. In connection with this, the Committee of the International Association asks us to warn foreign workers against all attempts likely to be made by the employers [to recruit them]. This is a question of solidarity."

p. 44

[35] This, apparently, refers to one of the master tailors' meetings that led to the formation, in September 1866, of the Master Tailors' Association for the Whole Kingdom. The Association united representatives of more than 200 firms and aimed at combating strikes by exchanging information and establishing fixed rates on the basis of which the employers could come to terms with the workers irrespective of whether they were union members or not.

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[36] This document was prepared by the Paris section for the Geneva Congress. It contained a detailed exposition of Proudhonist views on the main issues of the workers' struggle and was supported by the Lyons and Rouen sections. It was read as the report of the French delegates at the Congress morning and evening sessions held on September 4. The full text of the *Mémoire* was published in Brussels in September 1866 under the title *Congrès de Genève. Mémoire des délégués français.*

p. 45

[37] In June 1866 at the Sheffield Conference of trade-union delegates it was decided to form a National Trades Alliance (United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades) to co-ordinate the struggle

against lock-outs. Matthew Lawrence, as representative of the Operative Tailors' Association, was a member of the committee elected to draw up the Rules of the Alliance. The Rules were approved at the Manchester Conference of January 1-4, 1867. The Alliance, embracing 53 trade unions, with a total membership of nearly 60,000, existed until the end of 1870.

For the London Trades Council see Note 42.

p. 46

[38] Reference is to the resolution adopted at the previous Council meeting that the contributions of the societies that had joined the International Association in their corporate capacity should be a halfpenny per member annually.

p. 47

[39] See Note 4.

p. 47

[40] The workers' paper *Travail*, published in Ghent, in its issue No. 3, dated September 30, 1866, reproduced the brief report of the Geneva Congress from the September issue of the co-operative societies' monthly *Annales du Travail* (published in Brussels and Paris from August 1866). In connection with the elections to the General Council the report stated: "All Committee members were re-elected except one who has been excluded from the Council by a unanimous vote for his slander on the French delegates."

p. 48

[41] The General Council's debt to John Leno, the owner of a printshop, was £9 8s. (see the Balance-Sheet from April 28 to September 1, 1866, p. 264 of the present volume).

p. 48

[42] This refers to the London Trades Council first elected at a conference of trade-union delegates held in London in May 1860. Heading the London trade unions numbering many thousand members, the Council was quite influential among all British workers. The leaders of the following large trade unions played a big role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Coulson) and the Amalgamated Engineers (Allan). The General Council did its best to draw into the International the broad mass of British workers and endeavoured, on the one hand, to get the local trade-union organisations affiliated to it and, on the other, to induce the London Trades Council to join the International as a British section. "The London Council of the English Trades Unions (its secretary is our President, Odger) is just discussing whether it should call itself the British section of the International Association. If that is done, then in a certain sense, we shall have control of the working class here, and we can push on the movement very much," Marx wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 13, 1866.

The report of the General Council deputation that attended a meeting of the London Trades Council was read at the next meeting (see p. 52 of the present volume).

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[43] The weekly paper *Cooperator* was published by Henry Pitman in Manchester from 1860 to 1871.

p. 49

[44] See Note 50.

p. 49

[45] Despite this decision of the General Council, the Paris Committee published, at the close of 1866, the Statuts de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. They reproduced the text of the first edition issued by the Proudhonist leaders of the Paris section in January 1865 which contained a number of inaccuracies and distortions. In particular, in the third paragraph of the Preamble to the Rules reading: "the economic emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means", the words "as a means" were omitted. Simultaneously the Paris section published its rules—"Règlement du Bureau de Paris". Both documents were published in Paris, in the Rouge printing shop.

p. 49

[46] Dupont's correspondence in *Le Courrier Français* No. 1, January 6, 1867, states that the United Excavators' Society which joined the International numbered 28,000 members.

p. 50

[47] See Note 4.

p. 50

[48] The text of the declaration addressed by a group of political emigrants in New York to James Stephens, one of the leaders of the Irish revolutionary Fenians, was also published in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 49, December 9, 1866. The declaration expressed "full sympathy for the Irish movement admirably led by the republican patriot James Stephens".

p. 50

[49] The same meeting of the Standing Committee, October 20, 1866, apparently decided to publish the following statement in the Belgian press:

"In view of the reclamations addressed to the Central Council apropos of the factual errors contained in the different newspaper reports of the Geneva Congress, the Council declares that these reports were drawn up without any knowledge of the original documents handed in to the Council for keeping; to obtain exact information about the proceedings of the Congress, it is necessary

to wait for the official publication, the preparation of which is entrusted to the Council.

"On behalf of the Central Council in London,

"P. Lafargue."

The statement was published in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 44, November 4, 1866.

p. 52

[50] In addition to membership cards, the local sections of the International used membership books which fully reproduced the text of the Rules and Administrative Regulations and had several pages for registering membership dues and loans received from the mutual aid societies. In France, membership books (*carnets de membre*) were largely used.

In view of the numerous requests from the French sections of the International, the Standing Committee decided to publish in London, in French, the Rules approved by the Geneva Congress in the form of *carnets*. Since the Congress documents were confiscated by the French police (see pp. 271-76 of the present volume) and were unavailable at the time, it was necessary to prepare anew the Rules and Regulations in French. The job was done by Marx and Lafargue. The manuscript begun by Marx and continued by Lafargue is extant, and it coincides with the text of the pamphlet *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Statuts et Règlements* that appeared in London in November 1866. Of the 1,000 copies printed, 800 copies sent to France were confiscated at the French frontier, and the edition was not circulated.

p. 52

[51] The report of the Trades Council meeting held on October 17, 1866 and attended by the General Council's deputation was published on October 20, 1866 in *The Commonwealth* No. 189 and in *The Bee-Hive* No. 262.

"A deputation," the report stated, "... waited upon the Council for the purpose of showing to the Council the mutual advantages likely to accrue from an amalgamation of the Trades Council with the International Association. Many forcible arguments were brought forward in support of the suggestion, and were ordered to be in the report for the consideration and determination of the said delegates."

p. 52

[52] *The National Reform League* was founded in London in 1849 by a group of Chartists headed by Bronterre O'Brien. Its programme contained the demand for universal suffrage and a number of social measures, including nationalisation of land, currency reform, educational reform, etc. In the mid-sixties the League still united many former Chartists (Milner, Harris, the Murray brothers, and others). Alfred Walton, President of the National Reform League, established contacts with the General Council

as far back as 1865. The question of the League joining the International was discussed at the meetings of October 30 and November 6, 1866 and February 5, 1867, and was decided in favour of affiliation.

p. 52

[53] See Note 29.

p. 53

[54] *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 44, November 4, 1866, carried the following note:

"London, Golden Square, November 2, 1866.

"Citizens, the London basket-makers are in dispute with their employers. The latter want to smash the workers' society so as to exploit them more. With this aim in view, a certain Mr. Packer is to leave any day now for Belgium to hire Belgian basket-makers so as to make the British workers capitulate. Plans of this sort must be defeated by the strength of our organisation and by our solidarity. The Belgian workers should do their duty and reject this agent's offers, thereby making it possible for their British brothers to advocate their just demands. That will be a small victory in awaiting the great triumph. Greetings and fraternity.

"A. Besson, member of the Central Council, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium."

Der Vorbote No. 11, November 1866, published the following:

"The General Council in London informs us that the journeyman hairdressers and basket-makers are on strike.... There is no need to warn the German and Swiss workers engaged in these industries not to let themselves be hired for work in London since they do not want to betray the interests of their comrades in England."

p. 55

[55] Until the end of October 1866, *The Commonwealth* regularly published the General Council's advertisements reminding the International Association members of the expiration of payment of membership dues for 1866 and inviting them to attend the Council's meetings held every Tuesday. In November 1866 the text relating to membership dues was replaced by an appeal for voluntary contributions to defray the expenses connected with the publication of the Geneva Congresses (1866) Minutes.

p. 55

[56] See Note 52.

p. 56

[57] The report of the deputation that visited the Elastic Web-Weavers' Society was read at the next meeting of the General Council (see p. 61 of the present volume).

p. 57

[58] Reference is to the special committee, appointed at the Council meeting of October 23, 1866, to arrange the visit of British workers to the Paris World Exhibition of 1867 (see Note 29).
p. 57

[59] The detailed report of the Geneva Congress was published in *Der Vorbote* Nos. 9, 10 and 11, September, October and November, 1866.
p. 57

[60] See Note 36.
p. 57

[61] The French translation of the appeal of the English journeyman hairdressers to their Continental fellow-workmen (see Note 34) was published in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 43, October 28, 1866.
p. 57

[62] The French newspaper *La Coopération*, the organ of workers' co-operatives, was under the influence of the bourgeois republicans; it was published in Paris, twice monthly, between the summer of 1866 and the end of 1868. The newspaper was sub-titled "Journal du Progrès Social". It was the continuation of the journal *L'Association* (Paris-Brussels, 1865-66) and was succeeded by the weekly *La Réforme* (Paris, 1869), which very soon ceased publication.
p. 58

[63] In connection with Weston's objection, *The Commonwealth* No. 192, November 10, 1866, carried the following announcement:
"The International Working Men's Association.
"The General Council have under consideration a resolution for striking off from their roll of members inveterate absentees. Notice is hereby given that the aforesaid question will be discussed and probably decided at the next Tuesday's meeting of the General Council."
p. 59

[64] On September 23, 1866, a meeting of delegates to the Geneva Congress was held in La Chaux-de-Fonds which was attended by representatives of the Neuchâtel, Sonvillier, and St. Imier sections. Coullery made a report on the proceedings of the Congress.
p. 60

[65] This refers to the form of application for working men's societies wishing to join the International Association which was adopted by the General Council in 1865 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, the illustration between pp. 292-93). Apart from this form of application—the size was 16×8.5 cm.—there was another form, somewhat larger. The printed text of the application and the name of the society, its address, and the date—all given in handwriting —were on a large card to be hung on a wall. There still exists a card confirming the admission, on February 21, 1865, of the

Operative Bricklayers' Society as an affiliated branch of the International (see the illustration between pp. of the present volume).

p. 61

[66] At the end of 1866 Cremer made a tour of the east coast of England (Norwich, Durham, Yarmouth, etc.) as the Reform League's representative. His report of the tour was published in *The Commonwealth* No. 202, January 19, 1867.

p. 61

[67] At the height of its activities the Reform League (see Note 200) had numerous branches in London and other English towns; the whole organisation was headed by the Council and the more narrow Executive Committee.

John Hales's proposal, rejected by the General Council, boiled down to the establishment in England—on a territorial basis—of independent sections of the International united on a national scale with the Federal Council existing separately from the General Council. Meanwhile, it was the form of organisation adopted for Britain in 1864—collective affiliation of working men's societies and whole trade unions directly connected to the General Council—that at the time provided the International with the widest possible basis among the English proletariat. Fulfilling the functions of the Federal Council for Britain until the autumn of 1871, the General Council, on which various British workers' organisations were widely represented, could more effectively influence the workers in Britain by drawing them into joint action with the workers of other countries and educating them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

p. 61

[68] The Universal Tourist Company placed special advertisements in *The Commonwealth* and other workers' papers about arrangements for workers' collective excursions, at reduced prices, to the Paris World Exhibition of 1867.

p. 61

[69] Joseph Collet, the editor of *The International Courier*, headed the International Co-operative Printing Office in London which published, by order of the General Council, the Rules and Administrative Regulations in French (see Note 50).

p. 64

[70] On November 28, 1866 a general delegate meeting of the London trade unions was to be held to discuss the question of the London Trades Council joining the International (see Note 42); the meeting attended by 40 delegates was held only on December 12, 1866 in the Bell Inn, the Old Bailey. Due to lack of time the General Council deputation was not heard. The next delegate meeting, December 19, was attended by Jung, Lessner, and Hales. After their speeches the following resolution was adopted: "That the

Trades Council be empowered to consult with the Council of the International Working Men's Association, and to draw up a constitution to form a basis for co-operation, the same to be laid before a future delegate meeting of the trades of London called for that purpose." Detailed reports of these meetings appeared in *The Commonwealth* Nos. 197 and 198, December 15 and 22, 1866.

p. 65

[71] *Le Travailleur Associé*, a small paper concerned with questions of workers' co-operation, began to appear in Ghent (Belgium) at the close of 1866.

p. 66

[72] For details see pp. 271-76 of the present volume.

p. 70

[73] *Michaelmas Day*—September 29—a quarter day in England on which a payment of the third quarter's rent falls due.

p. 70

[74] Announcement about the evening arranged by the United Excavators' Society and the presence of the General Council members, Jung and Carter, at it was published in *The Commonwealth* No. 197, December 15, 1866.

p. 71

[75] The letter was apparently from Canessa, one of the leaders of the federation of Genoa working men's co-operative associations. The annual congress of the working men's associations of Northern Italy, which was planned to be held first in Palermo and then in Venice, did not take place either in 1866 or in 1867.

p. 72

[76] It is not evident from the General Council's Minute Books that Cesare Orsini was ever elected to the Council, and his name does not occur in any of the lists of the General Council members.

p. 72

[77] The following note written by Dupont to Marx on December 1, 1867 shows that preparations for printing the Minutes of the Geneva Congress were made by the Standing Committee even earlier:

"Dear Marx, I have read the Minutes, and it seems to me they contain some errors. If you are unable to attend the Sub-Committee meeting this evening, be so kind as to forward the Minutes by a messenger, for we cannot do anything without them.

"My respects to your good family. Sincerely yours,

"Eugène Dupont."

p. 73

[78] Reference is to the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" written by Marx in October 1864 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 277-87).

p. 73

[79] The report of the General Council deputation that visited the Coach-Trimmers and Harness-Makers' Society was delivered at the Council meeting of February 26, 1867 (see p. 97 of the present volume).

p. 75

[80] After the repeated deferment of the question of the London Trades Council's affiliation to the International, which was due to the struggle between the reformist leaders of the Council who opposed affiliation and local trade-union representatives—participants in the general delegate meeting of December 12, 1866 (see Note 70)—it was finally decided against at the London Trades Council meetings of January 9 and 14, 1867 (see pp. 83-84 and 90-91 of the present volume).

p. 76

[81] See Note 50.

p. 77

[82] *Le Courrier Français*—newspaper of the Left republicans, published in Paris from 1861 to 1868, at first as a weekly and from June 1867 onwards as a daily. O. Vermorel, a Proudhonist, was editor from May 20, 1866. From that time the newspaper became in fact the International's organ in France. As such it published the documents of the International and Dupont's reports from England. It also published Marx's Preface to the first German edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, translated by Paul and Laura Lafargue.

p. 77

[83] Reference is to the articles by bourgeois publicists L. Reybaud, "L'Économie politique des ouvriers", in *Revue des deux mondes* of November 1, 1866, and Y. E. Alaux, "Une forme nouvelle du socialisme", in *Revue contemporaine* of October 15, 1866, as well as to the leading article in *Fortnightly Review* No. 37, December 1866.

p. 77

[84] The London weekly *Reynolds's Newspaper* was founded in 1850 by Reynolds, a radical and one of the leaders of the Right wing of the Chartist movement. While regularly publishing articles on workers' life, the newspaper pursued the policy of the bourgeois radicals who sought to bring the labour movement under their influence.

p. 80

[85] See Note 36.

p. 81

[86] Reference is to the report of the Geneva Congress drawn up by a member of the Geneva section, Czwierzakiewicz, a Pole known by the pseudonym Card. His pamphlet, *Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866*, came out in Geneva in September 1866.

p. 81

[87] Reference is to the General Council's balance-sheet up to September 1, 1866 (see pp. 263-64 of the present volume).

p. 81

[88] The announcement about the Polish meeting of January 22, 1867 was published as a leaflet (see pp. 277-79 of the present volume).

p. 82

[89] Reference is to the London Pattern-Drawers and Print-Cutters' Protection Society founded early in 1866.

p. 82

[90] Reference is to the French branch in London founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides revolutionary-proletarian members (Dupont, Jung, Lafargue), it included petty-bourgeois émigrés (Victor Le Lubez and later Félix Pyat).

p. 83

[91] The report of the deputation that visited the Coach-Makers' Friendly Society was presented at the Council meeting of January 15, 1867.

p. 83

[92] The English translation of the report of the Geneva Congress, published in *Der Vorbote* Nos. 9, 10 and 11, September, October and November 1866, appeared in *The Commonwealth* Nos. 198, 199, 200, 203, 204 and 210, of December 22 and 29, 1866, January 5 and 26, February 2 and March 16, 1867.

p. 83

[93] The first annual general meeting of the Excavators' Society, held on January 21, 1867 at the Lambeth Baths under the chairmanship of G. M. Murphy, heard the secretary's report in which it was stated that the society had 14 branches numbering about 800 members. The report of the meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 276, January 26, 1867.

p. 84

[94] Reference is to the mass demonstration being prepared by the Reform League (see Note 106).

Concerning the Reform League see Note 200.

p. 84

[95] An invitation for the General Council's delegation to attend the London Trades Council meeting on Wednesday, January 9, 1867, was sent by Odger as the Secretary of the London Council.

p. 84

[96] Reference is to the law of February 19, 1858 which provided the government and the emperor with unlimited powers to exile to various parts of France and Algeria or to deport from French territory altogether all persons suspected of a hostile attitude towards the Second Empire.

p. 85

[97] See Note 7.

p. 86

[98] On January 16, 1867, delegates of the Reform League branches and representatives of friendly organisations met in the Cambridge Hall, Newman Street, London, to discuss joint preparations for a mass demonstration (see Note 106). Among the organisations, represented at the meeting, *The Bee-Hive* No. 275, January 19, 1867, mentioned the International Working Men's Association.

p. 91

[99] The delegation from the Block-Cutters' Society appeared at the next General Council meeting.

p. 91

[100] The meeting, organised by the General Council jointly with the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1863, was held in the Cambridge Hall, London, on January 22, 1867. As is evident from the General Council Minutes and the reports of the meeting that appeared in the London papers, in *Der Vorbote* No. 2, February 1867, and in the Polish paper *Głos Wolny* Nos. 129 and 130, of January 31 and February 10, 1867, Marx took an active part in the organisation and proceedings of the meeting: the rough copy of Marx's speech at the meeting survived. The text of the four resolutions to be submitted to the meeting was reproduced in a leaflet specially issued for the meeting (see pp. 277-79 of the present volume).

p. 92

[101] Reference is apparently to the Coventry Ribbon-Weavers' Association mentioned in the General Council report to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 (see p. 301 of the present volume).

p. 93

[102] The report of a deputation to the Bookbinders' Society was presented by Jung to the General Council meeting of February 5, 1867.

p. 93

[103] A letter from Benière, of Fleurieux-sur-Saône, dated January 19, 1867, was addressed to Dupont and published in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 9, March 3; the letter informed the Council that a consumers' co-operative society was founded there, its name being Coal Shop of the International Working Men's Association.

p. 93

104 As is evident from the General Council report to the Lausanne Congress (see pp. 301-02 of the present volume), the Coach-Trimmers' Society that met at The Crown did join the International.

p. 94

105 See Note 52.

p. 95

106 The mass reform demonstration, held in London on February 11, 1867, was organised by the Reform League jointly with the London Trades Council and other London workers' organisations. Nearly 25,000 people took part in the demonstration, most of them workers. The demonstration ended with a number of meetings which adopted resolutions protesting against the partial reform bill moved by the Conservative Government.

p. 95

107 In his letter to Jung, dated January 23, 1867, Card, a member of the Geneva section committee, urgently requested the General Council to speed up the publication of the Minutes of the Geneva Congress. Card also recommended the Council to discuss the question of insurance offices and emphasised that the workers must organise their own insurance offices free of the employers' tutelage.

p. 95

108 Early in February 1867, the miners of Marchienne (near Charleroi, Belgium) went on strike, protesting against the 10 per cent fall in wages and the transition to a shorter working week. The number of strikers rapidly increased; the regular troops which were set on the strikers dispersed them.

In connection with the shooting of the Belgian miners and iron-workers, the General Council addressed an appeal "To the Miners and Iron-Workers of Great Britain" calling on them to support the victims of the police actions (see pp. 280-82 of the present volume). The appeal was drawn up by Eccarius and published in *The International Courier* on March 13, 1867. As a result of this appeal, the bereaved families received assistance in cash.

p. 97

109 The Paris delegation to the Geneva Congress consisted of eleven workers: Bourdon, Varlin, Guyard, Camélinat, Cultin, Fribourg, Malon, Murat, Perrachon, Tolain and Chemalé, all of whom were elected to a new committee. Informing the Council of this, the Paris Committee emphasised that the leadership remained in the hands of the Proudhonist workers.

Anticipating the General Council, one of the duties of which was to prepare the annual Congress, the Paris Committee, as far back as February 1867, proposed the following items for the Lausanne Congress agenda: I) Mutualism as the basis of social

relations. 2) Capital and labour. 3) Equality of men and women in social functions. 4) Definition and role of the state.

p. 98

110 *Le Courrier International* No. 7, February 16, 1867, started publication of the Minutes of the 1866 Geneva Congress. In view of the great demand, the first part of the Congress Minutes was reprinted in a triple issue (Nos. 8, 9, and 10) that appeared on March 9, 1867.

p. 98

111 In February 1867, the bronze-workers of Barbedienne's works in Paris went on strike demanding revision of existing rates. On January 25, the Paris Bronze-Workers' Credit Society (Société de crédit et de solidarité des ouvriers du bronze) sent a circular to its members calling on them to prepare for a general solidarity strike. In reply to this, the owners of 120 enterprises adopted, at their meeting of February 14, a resolution threatening a lock-out if the society were not dissolved by February 25. At their general meeting, held on February 24 and attended by nearly 3,000 people, the bronze-workers resolved to fight the employers. The General Council was immediately informed of this through a delegation of bronze-workers specially sent to London, the delegation consisting of Camélinat, Kin, and Valdun joined by Tolain and Fribourg. Without waiting for the regular Council meeting, Jung, Dupont, and other members of the Standing Committee began to collect funds to aid the Paris workers and sent to the London papers the following appeal that included part of Fribourg's letter. The appeal was published in *The Working Man* No. 4, April 6, 1867.

"Sir,—I have received a letter from the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association relative to the pending lock-out of 1,500 bronze-workers in Paris, from which I sent you the following extracts.

Eugène Dupont, Secretary for France
to the International Working Men's Association. Paris, February 27.

"We invite you in the name of the Association to make a great effort on behalf of a large number of Parisian working men, who make application to their London brethren, through the medium of the International Association.

"The bronze-workers, to the number of 5,000, formed about a year ago a trade union after the model of and to serve the same uses as an English trade union.

"You can easily imagine that such a society was from the first regarded with an evil eye by the masters; they therefore resolved to destroy it on the first occasion, and they found a pretext for declaring war against it in a demand recently made upon five masters by the society. A coalition of capitalists was formed on the principle of demanding that the working men should abandon

their society or leave the working shops. As soon as this compact was made 87 houses in bronze-work forthwith proceeded to lock out 1,500 working men. Ought the latter to give in? Manifestly not. We cannot but applaud their spirit.

"The society is paying to every locked-out working man 20 francs (16 s.) per week, and 'there's the rub'. When the lock-out commenced it had in its treasury about 35,000 francs (£ 1,400), but this sum is now reduced to about 20,000 francs (£ 800).

"It is necessary that they be aided by a loan, and if your colleagues can procure them a loan of from 10,000 to 15,000 francs (£ 400 to £ 600), the issue of the lock-out will not be doubtful, and Messrs. Barbedienne and Victor Paillard, who are the leaders of the coalition of masters, would immediately find themselves isolated and compelled to cave in.

"The society would be able to repay about 5,000 francs per month to the trade union which would make the advance.

"The trade unions of Paris are preparing to sustain the workers in bronze with all their might, but aid from abroad would be invaluable from every point of view.

"Bear in mind that the masters cannot hold out for long, and if you are successful, and at the same time prompt in your application, we shall have an immense success.

"The said society has already been the means of increasing the wages of the trade. The combat which the masters are waging with them is one of life or death. If the masters come off victors it is all over with the society, and, at the same time, with all the ameliorations that it has been able to effect; if, on the other hand, it triumphs, the results are incalculable.

"Prithee, lose no time, and ask the English working men to dispense with their formalities and act with Gallic impetuosity, such is our prayer to them. F.

"We hear that upon the receipt of this appeal, the Central Council of the International Association of Working Men appointed delegates to wait upon the different trades societies, and that the Trades' Council at their last meeting have given credentials to the same delegates for the same object."

p. 99

[112] Dupont's correspondence placed in *Le Courrier Français* No. 10, March 10, 1867, stated that the London Day Working Bookbinders' Society, numbering 400 members, decided to give the Paris bronze-workers 125 francs and to lend them 250 francs.

p. 99

[113] The London Trades Council meeting, specially convened on the General Council's initiative on Monday, March 4, heard the report of three delegates from the Paris bronze-workers and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That credentials be granted to the International Association to appeal to the trades' societies for assistance for the bronze-

workers of Paris." The resolution was published on March 9 in *The Bee-Hive* No. 282 and *The Commonwealth* No. 209.

p. 99

114 This resolution was adopted by the Standing Committee in connection with the attacks (renewed after the Geneva Congress) made by Vésinier, a petty-bourgeois publicist, and Le Lubez, connected with Vésinier, upon the leaders of the Paris section whom they accused of collaborating with the Bonapartists.

p. 100

115 This meeting of the French branch of the International in London (see Note 90) was held at a time when a delegation from the Paris section was in London in connection with the bronze-workers' strike early in March 1867.

p. 100

116 The question of the General Council's representatives visiting the Curriers' Society was again raised at the Council meetings of April 2 and July 30, 1867.

p. 102

117 Reference is apparently to the German Workers' Educational Association (Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein), founded in London in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, and other leaders of the League of the Just. In the early years of its existence the Association was strongly influenced by the utopian, egalitarian communism of Wilhelm Weitling. With the organisation of the Communist League, leadership of the Association passed entirely to the League's local sections. The Educational Association was in close contact with the English Socialists and Chartists, with the organisations of the Fraternal Democrats and the French Social-Democrats. Marx and Engels actively participated in its work in 1847 and 1849-50. From November 1849 to September 1850, Marx read a series of lectures there on political economy and on the basic ideas of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

On September 17, 1850, Marx and Engels and several of their followers withdrew from the Association when it came out in support of the minority in the dispute between the majority of the Communist League's Central Committee, led by Marx and Engels, and the sectarian adventurist minority (the Willich-Schapper faction). At the close of the fifties, Marx again took an active part in the work of the Association.

Besides its headquarters at 2, Nassau Street, Soho, in the tavern of Heinrich Bolleter, a member of the Association, the Association, in the sixties, had two branches in East and South London, the Eintracht and the Teutonia. After the founding of the International, many of the Association's members—Eccarius, Kaub, Lessner, Bolleter, Lochner, and others—were elected to the General Council where they played a notable role. On January 10, 1865 the German Workers' Educational Association joined, in

its corporate capacity, the International as a German section in London (*The General Council. 1864-1866,* pp. 62-64).

p. 102

[118] The report of a deputation to a meeting of tin plate-workers on April 10 was made at the Council meeting held on April 16, 1867.

p. 104

[119] The Lausanne section, having begun to organise the second congress of the International, to be held in Lausanne in September 1867, drew up a draft appeal in an utterly Proudhonist spirit. It rejected communism and asserted mutualism to be the basic principle of the International. In a covering letter to Jung, dated March 12, 1867, Graf, the Secretary of the Lausanne section, wrote that the section had no intention of infringing upon the General Council's right to draw up the agenda of the congresses and therefore it sent its draft for the Council's approval. The letter enclosed the proof sheets of the appeal. Despite its rejection by the General Council, which did its best to prevent the Proudhonists from taking the preparation of the congress in their hands, the appeal was published in the March issue of *Bulletin de la Section de Lausanne* and reprinted in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 12, March 24, 1867.

p. 104

[120] The *Mémoire* of the French sections to the Geneva Congress (see Note 36) was published in *Le Courrier International* Nos. 20 and 21, May 18 and 25, 1867.

p. 105

[121] *The Working Man* No. 3, March 1, 1867, began publication of Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (see Note 5). It ceased publication on April 6, 1867 (No. 4).

p. 105

[122] The Manchester Trades Council was founded in August 1866 and united the trades societies in Manchester and Salford.

p. 105

[123] The broad movement of solidarity with the Paris bronze-workers, organised by the General Council, had greatly raised the strikers' spirits and undermined the employers' position. Of particular interest was the report of Camélinat and others about their visit to London made at a weekly general meeting on March 17, 1867. Following this meeting, negotiations between employers and workers started at individual enterprises, and on March 24 the representatives of the employers' coalition agreed to introduce fixed rates for separate jobs.

p. 106

[124] The article about the Paris bronze-workers' strike was printed in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 10, March 10, 1867.

p. 107

[125] The strike of 20,000 London engine-drivers began on March 25, 1867. On March 26 Dupont sent a letter to Paris in the name of the General Council, requesting to place in the papers the announcement about the strike and to warn the French workers against attempts to hire them for work in England: "Whatever lucrative offers may be made to engine-drivers on the Continent," Dupont wrote, "they must reject them in the name of international working-class solidarity." *Le Courrier Français* Nos. 13 and 14, March 31 and April 7, 1867, and other French papers published announcements, signed by the Paris Committee members, containing the General Council's warning.

p. 107

[126] Reference is to the French delegates' *Mémoire* written for the Geneva Congress (see Note 36); its text was reproduced in *Le Courrier International* Nos. 20 and 21, dated May 18 and 25, 1867, and, apparently, in English, in the respective issues of *The International Courier.*

p. 108

[127] The Brussels paper *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 4, April 30, 1867, published a letter by Alphonse Vandenhouten, the General Council's correspondent in the Brussels Federal Council, saying: "The cigar-makers' delegate to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in London reports that only 600 out of 700 workers affiliated to the Association are employed.... The request for the Belgian press is to give this information as wide publicity as possible."

p. 109

[128] In March 1867 the Paris journeyman tailors began their struggle for higher wages. On March 24 nearly 5,000 tailors held a meeting at which they elected a committee for organising a resistance society. Deciding to call a strike on April 1, the committee enlisted the support of the Operative Tailors' Protective Association in London whose President Matthew Lawrence wired on March 31: "Firmly confident in your success. Promise you all material and moral assistance." The telegram received in reply stated: "The Paris tailors stopped work today at 4 o'clock. Express gratitude to our comrades—London workers—in the name of humanity and fraternity." Both telegrams were immediately communicated to Marx. On April 11, Lawrence and Druitt, the other representative of the London Tailors' Association, attended a meeting of the strike committee in Paris.

p. 110

[129] The report of the tailors' meeting at the Alhambra Palace held on April 22 was published in *The Commonwealth* No. 216, April

27, 1867. Jung and Collet, members of the General Council, spoke to the meeting (see p. 112 of the present volume) and informed it that the Brussels tailors had also called a strike for higher wages.

p. 110

130 On April 3, 1867, the joint meeting of the Reform League Council and delegates from the League branches adopted a resolution moved by Odger congratulating the people of North Germany on their achievement of full representation in the elections to the North-German Reichstag. The resolution also tendered its thanks and gratitude to Count Bismarck "for the frank, manly, and noble expressions made by him as Prime Minister of Prussia on the happiness and general prosperity which must accrue to a nation governed on the principle of manhood suffrage".

Marx was not present at this meeting of the General Council (April 16) because on April 10 he left for Germany where Volume I of *Capital* was being published at the time. He returned to London on May 19.

p. 111

131 This resolution was reproduced in the leading article of *The International Courier* on April 24, 1867.

p. 111

132 This resolution proposed on Marx's instructions (see p. 111 of the present volume) was printed in *The International Courier* No. 17, May 1, 1867.

p. 114

133 See Note 50.

p. 115

134 *Bulletin de la Section de Lausanne*—monthly bulletin, published by the Lausanne section of the International during the preparations for the Lausanne Congress. Only three issues appeared, March, April, and May 1867.

p. 115

135 *Der Vorbote* No. 3, March 1867, published part of the election programme of the Saxon People's Party (Volkspartei) drawn up for elections to the North-German Reichstag.

p. 115

136 *The American* began publication in London early in 1867.

p. 116

137 The Postmaster-General's reply was read at the General Council meeting of May 14, 1867.

p. 119

138 The question of the Amalgamated Bakers' Union affiliating to the International was again raised at the General Council meeting on June 25.

The Bakers' Union is not mentioned in the list of affiliated British trade unions presented to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 (see pp. 301-02 of the present volume).

p. 119

139 In his letter to Jung, dated May 3, 1867, Dupleix wrote that a new committee of Geneva sections had been elected; this letter incorporated the above-mentioned letter from Basle. Dupleix's letter also contained the Geneva Committee's request to put on the agenda of the Lausanne Congress the following subject: "Slackness of Trade. Its Causes and Remedies."

p. 120

140 The address to the workers of Berlin and Germany in connection with the threat of war was signed by the leaders of the Lyons section (A. Richard, A. Schettel, L. Palix, and others), of the Vienne section (Marcheval), and of the Neuville-sur-Saône section (E. Benière, L. Baudrand). It was published in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 18, May 5, 1867 and in *Der Vorbote* No. 6, June 1867.

p. 120

141 As a result of the strike that lasted from April 8 to April 29, 1867, the Brussels Fraternal Society of Journeyman Tailors (Société fraternelle des ouvriers tailleurs) gained a 10 per cent increase in wages. This was largely due to pressure brought to bear on the owners of tailors' establishments by manifestations of international proletarian solidarity during the strikes of the London and Paris tailors.

p. 120

142 Napoleon III's Government instituted proceedings against the leaders of the Fraternal Solidarity and Mutual Credit Association of Journeyman Tailors (Association fraternelle de solidarité et de crédit mutuel des ouvriers tailleurs) that came into being during the Paris tailors' strike and numbered over 2,000 members, charging them with founding an organisation without preliminary authorisation. The Association was disbanded and its leaders had to pay large fines.

p. 120

143 The Marseilles section was organised in May 1867 by Jean Vasseur, a tin-plate worker. Its rules laid down that the International's Central Council should sit in London, and envisaged the following tasks: providing work for the unemployed, organisation of credit, and labour statistics.

p. 120

144 *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 4, April 30, 1867, carried an article about the curriers' strike. "Had it not been for fraternal assistance from their Brussels comrades and particularly from their Paris comrades," the article stated, "their efforts would have come to nought."

p. 123

145 The Algiers branch of the International was headed by Feuillet. It did not exist for long (see p. 221 of the present volume).
p. 124

146 On March 13, 1867, the International's section in La Chaux-de-Fonds heard James Guillaume's report about simplified, phonetic spelling and admitted that orthographic reform would, to a considerable extent, make it easier for the workers to acquire knowledge. The section declared itself to be a branch of the Phonographic League that campaigned for reforms in the sphere of phonography. The subject of phonography was included in the agenda of the Lausanne Congress and Guillaume reported on it.
p. 124

147 In April 1867, the London tailors stopped work, demanding the introduction of common rates in all the big English cities. The strike lasted several months and involved over 7,000 tailors.
p. 125

148 Reference is to Article 1 of the Administrative Regulations adopted by the Geneva Congress of 1866 (see pp. 268-70 of the present volume).

The question of the General Council's prerogatives to organise the International's general congress was again raised because of the continuous attempts made by the Lausanne section to take the congress preparations entirely into its own hands. Strongly influenced by the Proudhonists, this section acted in concert with the Paris Committee that did its best to limit the influence of the General Council and its proletarian revolutionary nucleus. On June 2, after this meeting of the General Council, the said Committee held its meeting in Paris attended by Graf, Secretary of the Lausanne section. The Paris Committee decided to demand that the Central Council in London immediately publish the final programme of the Lausanne Congress. An extract from the Minutes of the Paris meeting signed by the Committee members, was printed in the International's newspapers *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 24, June 16, 1867, and *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 6, June 30, 1867.
p. 125

149 As is evident from reports of the London Trades Council meetings of May 24 and 29, published in *The Commonwealth* No. 221, June 1, 1867, the meetings discussed the question of organising debates on the role and tasks of the trade unions. This idea was put forward by Odger who emphasised that the International's participation in the debates would make it possible to discuss the question in all its aspects, not only in connection with English conditions, but also in connection with conditions prevailing on the Continent and in America. He also recommended that John Stuart Mill, Fawcett, Beesly, Harrison, Ludlow, and other bourgeois-radical publicists and economists should be invited to take

part in the debates. Edgar, member of the Trades Council, said he believed the discussion was timely and would give "a right direction to the conflicting opinions which existed with respect to trade unions, their objects, means of action, and mode of working".

p. 126

150 The bourgeois-pacifist Peace Society was founded in London in 1816 by the Quakers with the active support of the Free Traders. Henry Richard, mentioned below, was Secretary of the Society and an organiser of the first international peace congresses in 1848-51. Later, Peace Society members took part in the activities of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 163).

p. 127

151 *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 22, June 2, 1867, carried an article entitled "Electoral Law" that dealt with electoral reform in England. "Soon the English workers will be like us, the Swiss and the French, they will have the right to vote," the article stated. "Then they will see that this right has not changed anything at all in their position. When they are to exercise this right, they, like we, will understand that liberty does not exist on voting day. The state, political parties, the law crush the liberty of the individual and the liberty of minorities."

p. 127

152 *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 24, June 16, 1867, published Jung's letter, dated June 5, which said in part: "The tailors are still on strike, the masters refuse any form of conciliation and have vowed to destroy the society (Operative Tailors' Protective Association.—*Ed.*). In view of this and in response to the tailors' demand, the Central Council adopted the following resolution: 'The sections of the different countries are requested to call on all working men for assistance to the London tailors.' You will appreciate that we cannot allow the death of a society that was one of the first to join the International Association and on more than one occasion provided excellent examples of international solidarity."

Information about the London tailors' strike was also placed in *Der Vorbote* No. 6, June 1867.

p. 128

153 As Corresponding Secretary for America Fox was to write there about the London tailors' strike. He did so on June 11 in his letter to Sylvis (see p. 307 of the present volume).

p. 128

154 Engaged in reading proofs of Volume I of *Capital*, Marx was unable to take a direct part in the work of the committee to draw up the English text of the General Council's address in connection with the Lausanne Congress, approved by the Council at its meeting on July 9, 1867 (see pp. 285-87 of the present volume). Marx edited the French text of the address drafted by

Lafargue; it greatly differs from the English text (see pp. 288-91 of the present volume). The address in English and French was published in leaflet form:

Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. To the Members and Affiliated Societies.

Adresse du Conseil général de l'Association internationale. Aux membres et aux sociétés affiliées et à tous les travailleurs.

The German translation of the French text was included in the leaflet *Einladung zum zweiten Kongress der Internationalen Arbeiter Assoziation, am 2-8 September, in Lausanne.*

p. 128

155 Reference is to the German weekly newspaper *Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London* that began publication in London in 1859.

p. 129

156 *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 24, June 16, 1867, announced the affiliation to the International of the Carpenters' Society, one of the oldest Geneva societies, founded in 1834. It also reported on the formation of two consumers' co-operatives by the Geneva section and by the Geneva Engravers and Jewellers' Society. The same issue wrote about the plan to found a co-operative society in Sonvillier that would combine production functions with supplying its members with raw materials and consumer goods; it would also act as a savings-bank and mutual aid society. The plan was put forward by the Sonvillier section of the International.

p. 129

157 The question of a deputation to the engineers was again raised at the General Council meetings on June 25 and July 9 and 16, 1867.

p. 129

158 During Tsar Alexander II's visit to Paris in the first half of June 1867, the Paris workers and Blanquist students, supported by opposition-minded barristers, organised several political demonstrations of sympathy with the Polish people. On June 4 demonstrators in the Latin Quarter (the University district) met the Tsar with shouts of "Long Live Poland!" Because of the big crowds Alexander II had to abandon his visit to the Palais de Justice. That same night the demonstration was repeated, and the police made arrests.

p. 130

159 These resolutions were published in *The Commonwealth* No. 297, June 22, 1867.

p. 130

160 See Note 138.

p. 131

161 The shortened Minutes of this Council meeting, reproducing the Lausanne Congress programme adopted by the General Council, were published in *The Working Man* No. 16, July 13, 1867.

p. 131

162 Information about the London tailors' strike in April-June 1867 was given by *Der Vorbote* No. 6, June 1867, and *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 6, June 30, 1867.

p. 132

163 The first congress of the bourgeois-democratic League of Peace and Freedom to be held in Geneva was scheduled for September 5, 1867. The formation of this League at a time when war threatened Western Europe in the latter part of the sixties accorded with the mood of broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals. The League's Organising Committee, which enlisted the support of bourgeois-radical and democratic leaders such as John Stuart Mill, Victor Hugo, the Reclus brothers, and others, realised, however, that the League's success would depend on support from the European workers and, above all, from their international organisation. That is why the Committee invited the sections of the International and its leaders, Marx included, to attend the congress. Simultaneously, it was decided to postpone the opening of the congress to September 9, so as to enable the delegates to the Lausanne Congress of the International to take part in the proceedings of the League's congress as well.

The International's attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom was discussed both by the General Council and by the local sections. Marx's speech at the Council meeting on August 13 (see pp. 152-53 of the present volume) clearly revealed the attitude of the International to the League and provided a model for the tactics of the proletarian organisation in the democratic movement.

For the Lausanne Congress decision concerning the attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom see Note 198.

p. 132

164 The Vienne section sent only one delegate to the Lausanne Congress—Ailloux.

p. 133

165 Fox's letter to Marx, dated July 3, 1867, shows that at this meeting Harriet Law spoke of her intention to found a National Working Women's Association in London, to be affiliated with the International. "Eccarius referred her to Miss Carroll, the leader of the tailoresses of London and occupant of seat at the Tailors' Executive," Fox wrote.

p. 133

166 The International Ironmoulders' Union—a big labour union in the United States—was founded in 1859 and finally shaped in 1863 under the leadership of Sylvis who became its President. The

Union combined, on a national scale, local ironmoulders' associations and had its organisations in British Colombia and Canada; it fought for centralised actions on the part of local associations, led the strike movement, and did much to strengthen trade unions on a national scale.

p. 134

[167] The official report of the Geneva Congress of the International was published in *The International Courier* Nos. 7-15, February 20, March 13, 20, 27, and April 3, 10, 17; in *Le Courrier International* Nos. 8-16, March 9, 16, 23, 30, and April 6, 13, 20, 1867; and in *The Working Man*, March-August 1867. The same papers announced that preparations were under way to publish the Minutes in pamphlet form. But they were not published as a pamphlet for lack of money.

p. 135

[168] Fox's memorial on cheaper international postal rates, addressed to the British Postmaster-General, the Duke of Montrose, was published in *The Working Man* No. 20, August 10, 1867, and signed by the General Council officers Odger, Eccarius, Carter, Jung, Dupont, Zabicki, Fox, and Besson. In view of Marx being absent, Lessner signed the document as the Corresponding Secretary *pro. tem.* for Germany. Referring to the Geneva Congress decision instructing the General Council to raise the question before different governments, Fox explained that the demand for cheaper postal rates was necessitated by the growth of international ties and frequent emigration of workers from one country to another in search of work.

p. 136

[169] Reference is to the excesses committed in the autumn of 1866 in Sheffield by some trade unionists against strike-breakers. A special government commission was set up to investigate the matter; the commission worked for several months in 1867, and the results of its investigations were widely used by the bourgeois press to discredit the trade unions and the labour movement in general.

In his letter to Jung, dated July 6, 1867, Charles Perron, the Secretary of the Geneva section, enclosed three cuttings from the Swiss bourgeois papers and requested him to send a reply in the form of an article that could be published in a newspaper.

p. 139

[170] Reference is to the article printed in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 28, July 14, 1867.

p. 139

[171] The Executive of the Lyons branch of the International (A. Richard, Blanc, Schettel, Palix, and others) published, in the spring of 1867, a draft of the Rules of the Industrial and Commercial Society of the Lyons Workers, Members of the International—

Société industrielle et commerciale des travailleurs lyonnais adhérents à l'Internationale. Projet de Statuts. The society was to embrace consumers' and producers' co-operatives and a loan-bank in a single system. The project did not materialise. The existence of an organisation registered as a joint-stock commercial society made it possible for the branch to hold periodic meetings unhindered.

p. 140

172 Chassin was the delegate to the Lausanne Congress from the Villefranche section.

p. 140

173 The report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 301, July 20, 1867, contains the following communication from France not recorded in the Minute Book:

"An extensive lock-out in the stuff-printing trade was also reported. The firm of Yautmann, at Puteaux, discharged four workmen for being members of a mutual credit society. When their fellow-labourers in the factory became aware of the reason of the discharge, they, with one accord, demanded the return of the discharged. Upon this being refused they struck work, and the proprietors of the stuff-printing establishments of Paris, Puteaux, Saint-Denis, Sèvres, Saint-Germain, and Le Peiq—with the exception of the house of Malsis and Choquel—have locked their work-people out until Yautmann's work-people resume work minus the four."

The report of this General Council meeting, published in *The Commonwealth* No. 228, July 20, 1867, apparently written by Eccarius, contains the following communication from Germany which is not recorded in the Minute Book:

"A letter from the tailors of Berlin was read, stating that the cigar-makers had raised a levy, and some cabinet-makers had joined to get money for the London tailors. The proceeds of a concert, together with the subscriptions, amount in all to £ 22, for which a cheque was received. The following extract from the appeals published in the Berlin papers was read:

" 'The Council of the International Working Men's Association has appealed to the Berlin tailors for the pecuniary aid. The case of the London tailors is not a matter of charity; it is a matter of duty. They have conscientiously entered upon a giant struggle against capital, well knowing that if they are defeated theirs will be a sorry lot for years to come, and it will re-act upon the whole labouring population, at least in England, since it is not simply a contest between operative and master tailors, but a struggle of labour against the domination of capital. May the working men of Berlin show that they understand the importance of the solidarity of the working men as well as their English compeers, who prove it by their continuous contributions. The working men's interests are everywhere the same.' "

p. 140

[174] The report of the annual meeting of the London Trades Council held on July 24, 1867 was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 302, July 27, 1867. Marx, apparently, was unable to attend this meeting because on July 25 he was still working on the Preface to Volume I of *Capital* which he finished the same day and sent to the Hamburg publisher.

p. 141

[175] The information about the German Communist Club in New York was given in Friedrich A. Sorge's letter to Marx, July 10, 1867. The club was founded in 1857 by German revolutionary emigrants; a considerable role in it was played by a group of former members of the Communist League and Marx's associates (Weydemeyer and others). Sorge informed Marx of the successes of the International in the U.S.A. and wrote that so far propaganda was being conducted only among the German worker emigrants but soon it would be carried on among the native population, for which Sorge asked Marx to send him documents in English.

p. 142

[176] "Reports by her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation, on the Manufactures, Commerce, etc., of the Countries in Which They Reside". London, 1867, N. 5, pp. 594-95.

The mistakes in figures made in the source itself are left intact while the errors in the newspaper are corrected in accordance with the source.

p. 142

[177] On July 9, the general meeting of the Geneva section decided to subscribe to the programme of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 163) and expressed full confidence in its organisers. Several members of the Geneva section, including Becker and Dupleix, joined the League's Organising Committee.

p. 144

[178] The address of the bourgeois radicals' meeting, held on July 14 in Fleurier, Switzerland, was published in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 29, July 21, 1867.

p. 144

[179] Reference is to the delegate meeting of workers in St. Imier on July 21, 1867 held on the initiative of members of the International. The meeting was to discuss the following questions concerning the organisation of payment to the workers in the watchmaking industry which was of a domestic character: 1) Payment in cash, without deductions; 2) Payment in instalments and competition between the contractors without capital, and the big firms; 3) Co-operation. The announcement about this meeting was given in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 29, July 21, 1867.

p. 144

[180] Reference is to the appeal of the Executive Committee of the National Labour Union to the American workers issued in connection with a Labour Congress to be held in Chicago on August 19, 1867.

p. 144

[181] Marx proposed this in view of the publication, in *Le Courrier Français No. 25*, July 20, 1867, of the Paris section appeal to all the working men's societies in connection with the Lausanne Congress. The appeal included the Congress agenda as proposed by the Paris section in February 1867 (see Note 109). Imbued with Proudhonist ideas, this agenda led the Congress away from discussing the urgent questions of labour organisation.

p. 144

[182] The General Council's balance-sheet for the financial year ending August 31, 1867 was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 310, September 21, 1867 (see p. 311 of the present volume).

p. 144

[183] See Note 167.

p. 145

[184] Eintracht was a branch of the German Workers' Educational Association in London (see Note 117).

p. 145

[185] The list of delegates to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 does not include a delegate from the Polish section.

p. 146

[186] Caen and Conde-sur-Noireau sent Charles Longuet as their delegate to the Lausanne Congress.

p. 146

[187] The Neuville-sur-Saône section was represented at the Lausanne Congress by Rubaud, a print-shop worker. The report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 303, August 3, 1867, says that "the section of Neuville-sur-Saône is spreading amongst the agricultural labourers of the neighbourhood, who the correspondent remarks, are greatly in want of instruction, and require encouragement to unite for their common interests".

p. 146

[188] At an annual general delegate meeting of various trade unions convened by the London Trades Council and held on July 24, 1867, a conflict arose between the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and representatives of a local branch of that society. The branch representatives, referring to the second article in the rules of the Council, demanded that they should be given the right to directly elect delegates to general meetings instead of such delegates being merely appointed by the Executive Committee from among a few

persons close to the society's leadership. This demand, met with indignation from the reformist leaders of the Council, found support among local organisations. It was explained by a worker named Davison in a letter published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 302, July 27, 1867. '

p. 147

[189] The Coventry ribbon-weavers' delegate to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 was Daniel Swan.

p. 148

[190] The report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 304, August 10, 1867, includes the text of the resolution sent to the General Council by the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:

"That the Executive Council, sincerely appreciating the efforts of the Council of the International Association to bring together the workmen of every nationality into one bond of fraternity, and being desirous of assisting, as far as circumstances will at present permit, in such laudable endeavours, beg to assure the Council of that Association of our hearty sympathy, and our desire to subscribe, on behalf of our society, the sum of £ 2 per annum towards the funds of the International Association."

p. 148

[191] The Vienne section's delegate to the Lausanne Congress of 1867 was Ailloux, a tailor.

p. 148

[192] The international co-operative congress to be held in Paris on August 16-18, 1867 was banned by the French Government. Reporting on this, *Der Vorbote,* in issue No. 8, August 1867, invited congress delegates to attend the International's Congress in Lausanne.

p. 149

[193] Reference is to the National Labour Union congress to be held in Chicago in August 1867. The Union was founded in the U.S.A., at a congress in Baltimore, in August 1866. Sylvis, a prominent leader in the American labour movement, took an active part in founding it. In October 1866 the Labour Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. At the Chicago Congress of the Union Trevellick was elected delegate to the next International's congress but he was unable to attend.

The Workingman's Advocate was published weekly in Chicago between the summer of 1864 and October 1877. Sylvis, Cameron, and other leaders of the American labour movement were on its editorial board. The newspaper regularly published reports about the activities of the International and its chief documents.

p. 149

194 The list of delegates to the Lausanne Congress does not include the representative of the London Basket-Makers' Society.

p. 151

195 Lessner was the delegate to the Lausanne Congress from the German Workers' Educational Association in London (Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein).

p. 151

196 See Note 163.

p. 152

197 The brief record of the Minutes does not fully express the views of the founders of Marxism on the role of regular standing armies in the nineteenth century. Their views are expounded in Engels's work "The War Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party" and in a series of his articles "Notes on War".

p. 152

198 The question of the attitude towards the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom was discussed by the Lausanne Congress at its meeting on September 4, 1867. The General Council's stand on this question, as expounded by Eccarius, found no support. Nor did the Congress adopt the proposal of the commission, headed by Swiss journalist Hafner, that they should fully and unconditionally support the League's Congress and take part in all its measures. After a lengthy debate the Congress adopted the following amendment moved by Tolain and De Paepe:

"Considering that the prime and principal cause of war is pauperism and lack of economic balance, that to eliminate wars it is not sufficient to disband standing armies, but it is also necessary to change the organisation of society to bring about a more just distribution of products, this Congress adheres to the League Congress provided the latter accept the above principles."

The following General Council members attended the League Congress, held in Geneva, in an individual capacity: Dupont, Eccarius, Odger, Cremer, Longuet, and Walton; in addition, Becker, Tolain, Fribourg, Vasseur, Murat, Coullery, Guillaume, and other members of the French and Swiss sections were present. The stand taken by the proletarian nucleus of the General Council on the working-class attitude towards wars was expressed by Dupont, who said:

"Citizens, the worker is unquestionably the most ardent partisan of perpetual peace. He supplies the field of battle with cannon-fodder, and it is he who must feed the war budget with his labour and sleepless nights. Thus, from this point of view, he wants peace. But peace is not a principle, it can only be a result. Do you think, Citizens, you can secure it by the means you proposed to us here yesterday?... Of course not. To establish perpetual peace, it is necessary to do away with laws that oppress labour, with all privileges, and to turn all citizens into a single

class of working people; in a word, to accept the social revolution with all its consequences."

Dupont's speech was included in the report of the Geneva Congress of the League published in the Swiss newspaper *Diogène*, November-December 1867.

p. 153

[199] This refers to the election of delegates to the Lausanne Congress. Harriet Law is not mentioned in the Congress list.

p. 153

[200] In the spring of 1865, a Reform League was founded in London on the initiative and with the active participation of the International's General Council. It was to be a political centre for guiding the mass reform movement of the British workers. The League's leading bodies—the Council and the Executive Committee—included six General Council members: Cremer, Odger, Howell, Eccarius, Leno, and Nieass. The reform movement programme and tactics as regards bourgeois parties were elaborated under the direct influence of Marx who struggled for a British labour policy independent of the governing parties. In contrast to the bourgeoisie's demand for household suffrage, the Reform League, on Marx's insistence, put forward the demand for universal manhood suffrage throughout the country. This Chartist slogan restored to life by the International found wide response among the British workers and secured for the League the support of the trade unions. The League had its branches in all the big industrial towns of England. However, the League failed to carry out the line worked out by the General Council owing to the waverings of the bourgeois radicals among the League's leaders, who became afraid of the mass movement, and to the conciliatory policy pursued by the opportunist trade-union leaders. The British bourgeoisie managed to split the movement, and in the summer of 1867 a curtailed reform was carried out which granted suffrage only to the petty bourgeoisie and to top sections of the working class, leaving the bulk of the population disfranchised as before.

p. 153

[201] In the summer of 1867, a Workers' Union was formed at Berne which declared itself to be a branch of the International. The Union sent its delegate, Alleman, a printer, to the Lausanne Congress.

p. 154

[202] The Working Men's Union of New York—association of New York trade unions—was founded in 1863 and aimed at uniting New York workers in their struggle against the employers, supporting the strikers, and helping to settle conflicts between the workers and employers.

p. 155

[203] The Postmaster-General's letter to the International Working Men's Association, dated August 24, 1867, was published in full in *The Bee-Hive* No. 307, August 31, 1867. The letter was signed by F. J. Scudamore.

p. 156

[204] The manuscript of Fox's annual report of his activities as Corresponding Secretary for America is inserted in the Minute Book after the General Council Minutes of August 29, 1867 (for Fox's report see pp. 304-10 of the present volume).

p. 156

[205] The balance-sheet up to August 31, 1867, audited by Hales and Maurice, was submitted for the approval by the Lausanne Congress (see p. 311 of the present volume).

p. 158

[206] *La Liberté*—bourgeois-democratic weekly close to the Proudhonists, published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873; from 1867 onwards it regularly printed reports about the International's activities.

p. 159

[207] The report of the General Council meeting of August 20, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 306, August 24, 1867, omitted part of the information about the American labour movement. Fox, who was a contributor to *The Bee-Hive* and the author of that report, put his information about the Chicago Congress of the National Labour Union, which he made to the Council, in a leading article in the same issue. In his comments on this article he said nothing about the International Working Men's Association, its relations with the National Union, and the forthcoming Lausanne Congress, at which a delegate from America was also to be present.

p. 159

[208] *The Bee-Hive* Nos. 309 and 310, September 14 and 21, 1867, published the abridged English text of the General Council's report to the Lausanne Congress and the balance-sheet up to August 31, 1867.

p. 159

[209] In the report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 311, September 28, 1867, Eccarius's information was given as follows: "Citizen Eccarius gave an account of the proceedings of the late Congress, stating some particulars not included in the reports that have appeared in *The Bee-Hive*. There had been open-air meetings every other night, during the Congress week, at which the various delegates had addressed the outside public. Mr. Hugentobbler, of Neuchâtel, had presented twenty copies of his work, entitled 'The Abolition of Pauperism', which had been distributed amongst the delegates of the various sections. Mr. Hugentobbler proposes the abolition of private property in land as a remedy against pauperism."

p. 160

[210] In accordance with the decision adopted, on Marx's proposal, by the General Council on November 22, 1864, the British working men's societies joining the International could themselves determine the amount of their contributions depending on their means. The printed form of application adopted in June 1865 emphasised that "no contributions are *demanded* from societies joining"; it was left to their discretion "to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the efforts of the Association worthy of support". This application (varnished and mounted on canvas and roller) cost 5s. regarded as an entrance fee.

p. 160

[211] Eccarius's reports of the Lausanne Congress, published in *The Times* on September 6-11, 1867, contained several ironical remarks on the verbosity of the French Proudhonist delegates and the confusion of their views. As Engels wrote to Marx on September 11, Eccarius did not take into account the fact that "his humour can be used by the bourgeoisie who edit him to ridicule the whole cause and not only a few Frenchmen". In his reply to Engels, dated September 12, Marx agreed that Eccarius "lacks diplomatic talent. He writes to *The Times* as if he were writing for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitungs-Revue*".

Eccarius's articles in *The Times* met with objection on the part of some Council members. In this connection, Marx wrote to Engels on October 4: "Fox, who after Eccarius's return did not miss a single opportunity to exhibit his great hatred for Eccarius, gave notice that at the next meeting (Tuesday) he would speak about *Eccarius's articles* in *The Times* so that the Council could be their censor. After this, to Fox's great surprise, I also gave notice that next Tuesday I would interpellate Fox regarding a certain secret letter in which he called on Becker to do all in his power to remove the seat of the Central Council from London."

The letter mentioned by Marx was sent by Fox to Becker in Geneva on the eve of the Lausanne Congress, on August 29, 1867, and bore the words "Private and confidential". Fox wrote:

"Dear chief, please try to change the General Council's seat to Geneva, at least for next year. Leave us free to carry on propaganda in London and other big centres of the country. The Council has made a big mistake in taking Odger's side in his conflict with Potter and *The Bee-Hive*. Only five weeks ago the Council changed course and made peace with *The Bee-Hive* and Potter, who dominates the most powerful organisation of London's trade unions. Now that this stupid mistake is rectified, our prospects have improved. We all agree that the Congress must leave in London a correspondent for America. In this respect our hopes are also encouraging. But above all change the General Council's seat. We should have *quite enough* to do as a British section. Faithfully yours, Peter Fox."

p. 161

[212] As is evident from Marx's letter to Engels, dated October 4, 1867, the proposal to abolish the office of the General Council's President was moved on Marx's initiative. In its special resolution the Basle Congress of the International held in 1869 proposed that all local sections should abolish the post of president in their sections.

p. 161

[213] Besson remained the nominal Secretary for Belgium until the end of 1868 but did not fulfil his functions. In his letter to De Paepe in Brussels, Dupont wrote on May 12, 1868: "Besson often attends the meetings of the French branch but never the General Council meetings. He has only come four times in two years. That is why I often write in his place and why the General Council practically always charges me with writing to you."

p. 161

[214] Reference is to an editorial in *The Times*, September 10, 1867, which examined the results of the Congress of the National Labour Union held in Chicago.

In the report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 311, September 28, 1867, the concluding part of Hinton's speech is given as follows: "Mr. Hinton (citizen of America) stated that *The Times* had misrepresented the intentions of the National Labour Congress of America respecting immigration from Europe. There were no less than 11,000,000 of the population of the United States who were of European birth, and they at all events could have no desire to prevent others coming. Nor were the native Americans against immigration from Europe. There was room for all who were willing to work for their living. What they objected to was that European working men should come at the bidding of American capitalists to be used against the resident workmen of America. This they were determined to put a stop to if possible. A close union, not only between the trades societies, but of the leading social and political spirits of the two countries, was necessary, and he would do all in his power on his return to bring about such a union."

p. 162

[215] The report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 312, October 5, 1867, cites a letter from the Tailors' Society of Cologne founded on the initiative of the Cologne section of the International. The letter says: "The preliminary programme which we have issued is as follows: 1. The establishment of sick benefit clubs, and their consolidation into a general assurance union. 2. A relief fund for members out of work and travelling. 3. The establishment of offices affording information respecting the demand for labour. We consider these three points as a means to rally the tailors to unite, and to give the Association to be formed a legal status within the Prussian dominion. Our ultimate

aim is the foundation of productive associations." The letter was addressed to Eccarius.

p. 163

[216] See Notes 211 and 221.

p. 164

[217] See Note 208.

p. 164

[218] Reference is to the pamphlet published in August 1866 under the title *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association. Established September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.*

p. 165

[219] The text of the propositions, made by Isard and Drury at a meeting of the National Labour Union of the United States, was included in the report on the present Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 313, October 12, 1867. Drawn up in a petty-bourgeois, reformist spirit, the propositions dealt with the establishment of a world mutual credit society, the organisation of co-operatives and school reforms, and ended with the following slogan: "Abolition of wages, labour, extinction of pauperism, a just distribution of wealth; in a word, liberty, morality and justice."

p. 165

[220] Wilhelm Liebknecht was elected to the North-German Reichstag by one of the Saxon electoral districts. The results of the elections became known on September 20, 1867.

p. 166

[221] Informing Engels on the further course of the trouble between Fox and Eccarius (see Note 211), Marx wrote on October 9, 1867: "So, yesterday Fox was to behead Eccarius. He took over an hour to pronounce his indictment. He very insidiously compared the worst places and used all the craft of a barrister from the Old Bailey, attacking me as well. In opposing him I gave him such rough time that in his reply he lost all control of himself. Everybody took part in the discussion. Result: my motion (rather amendment) to 'go over to the order of the day' was carried by an overwhelming majority. However, during the debate Eccarius got a good dressing down."

p. 166

[222] In its letter of October 10, 1867 the Lausanne section informed the General Council that it owed 3,000 francs which it had spent in the winter of 1865-66 trying to organise a co-operative workshop to provide 80 people with work.

p. 167

[223] Liebknecht's speech in the North-German Reichstag, delivered on October 17, 1867, was included in the report of this Council

meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 315, October 26, 1867. Marx attached great importance to Liebknecht's speech and instructed Lafargue to prepare the French text of this speech and send it to Vermorel for publication in *Le Courrier Français*.

p. 167

224 In accordance with the General Council's resolution of January 24, 1865, only a member of the International Association could be elected to the General Council. This applied also to those Council members who were representatives of workers' organisations that joined the International in their corporate capacity.

p. 168

225 *Industrial Partnership Record*—monthly on issues concerning the co-operative movement, published by Greening in London from 1867 to 1868. Between March 1868 and August 1869 it came out under the title *Social-Economist*, George Holyoake participating in it.

p. 169

226 The Reform League's (see Note 200) stand on the Irish question in general and on the Fenians in particular (see Note 229) is presented here in a false light. On October 23, 1867 the Council of the Reform League discussed the letter of the bourgeois radical Beales, the League's President, in which he sharply condemned the Fenian movement. Odger and Lucraft, who were present at this meeting, objected to this letter being published and expressed sympathy for the Irish liberation movement and the Fenians' revolutionary methods of struggle. This action by two prominent trade-union leaders, which could have acquired great importance in determining the British proletariat's position in regard to the national-colonial question, resulted from the work Marx and his followers had carried on in the General Council. On November 2, 1867 Marx wrote to Engels: "You will have seen what a row 'our people' kicked up in the Reform League. I have sought in every way to provoke this manifestation of the English workers in support of Fenianism."

The discussion in the Reform League, the report of which was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 315, October 26, 1867, caused alarm among the League's bourgeois-radical leaders. Under their pressure Odger and Lucraft, at the next meeting of the League's Council, took back their words in favour of the Fenians and tried to assure those present at the meeting that they were misunderstood. The chauvinist elements on the editorial board of *The Bee-Hive* did all they could to publish the detailed report of this meeting in the next issue of the paper, No. 316, November 2, 1867.

p. 170

227 As is known from Jung's letter to Marx written on November 16, 1867, Fox accused Jung of intending to remove the British

members from the Council and alluded to the incident with Carter after the Geneva Congress (see pp. 38 and 43 of the present volume). Marx, apparently, addressed a letter to Fox persuading him to continue his work in the Council and stating, in particular, the need for dealing actively with the Irish question in the nearest future. Fox's reply to Marx dated November 23, 1867 has survived. Fox wrote: "I see the importance of attending on the Irish question and making a speech. I will attend, as you say, as a simple member of the Association. As to retracting my resignation—that is not likely. I agree that I am responsible to the yearly Congress and I will not fail to lay my conduct before them....

"My grievance is not with one man, but with the Council and its Chairman for the licence given to that man."

p. 173

[228] The Geneva workers' address to the Italian people, dated October 30 and approved by a mass meeting specially called for the purpose on November 3, was published in *Der Vorbote* No. 11, November 1867. The same number of the journal reproduced the text of a poster, issued by the Geneva section on October 30, calling upon the Italians to take part in a meeting and demonstration on November 3.

p. 173

[229] In the late fifties of the nineteenth century a secret Fenian organisation, known as the Irish Revolutionary (or Republican) Brotherhood, was founded among the Irish immigrants in America and later extended to Ireland. The Fenians who objectively voiced the interests of the Irish peasants came mainly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Because of their conspiratorial tactics and their sectarian and bourgeois-nationalistic outlook the Fenians were out of touch with the mass of the Irish people and did not link up their activities with the general democratic movement that was developing in England, in particular with the reform movement. Marx and Engels more than once pointed to the weakness of the Fenian movement; still they highly appreciated its revolutionary character and sought to guide it along the path of mass struggle and joint action with the English working class. In February-March 1867, the armed uprising, for which the Fenians had long prepared, suffered defeat; isolated actions in individual counties were suppressed, and many leaders were arrested and put on trial. On September 18, in Manchester, an armed attack on a police van was organised to release the two Fenian leaders Colonel Kelley and Captain Deasy. Their escape was a success but during the clash a police officer was killed. Five people seized at the place of the incident and accused of murder were sentenced to death. This death sentence aroused a wave of protest in Ireland and England. General Council members, including Dupont, the Corresponding Secretary for France, joined the protest movement. On October 14, 1867 Dupont

published an article on the Fenian movement in the Paris newspaper *Le Courrier Français*. However, the movement in defence of the Fenians got no effective backing from British General Council members because of their bourgeois-chauvinist views. The stand taken by Odger and Lucraft in the Council of the Reform League attested to this (see Note 226).

In order to elaborate common tactics for the workers on the national question and to spread the ideas of proletarian internationalism among the British workers, Marx insisted on holding a discussion on the Irish question in the General Council jointly with Irish and British press officials.

The report of this General Council meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 318, November 16, 1867, states: "The home affairs that came under the notice of the Council were simply routine business with the exception of one proposition, which was unanimously carried. The proposition in question is a discussion on 'Fenianism', next Tuesday evening, at the ordinary meeting place. Members of the Council, as well as members of the Association, are invited to attend, and bring friends who are not indifferent to public affairs with them." The discussion took place on November 19 and 26, 1867.

p. 174

230 Reference is to the following publication of the Minutes of the Lausanne Congress: "Procès verbaux du Congrès de l'Association internationale des travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 Septembre 1867." La Chaux-de-Fonds, impr. *Voix de l'Avenir*, 1867.

p. 174

231 This refers to the mass meetings held in Hyde Park on June 27, July 2, and July 23-25, 1866, at the time of the most active struggle for electoral reform in England.

p. 175

232 In 1866 a campaign of protest developed in England against the severe treatment of Irish political prisoners, whom the government regarded as common criminals. The General Council took an active part in this campaign (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 151, 166-69, 211-12, 327-34).

In speaking of the "would-be liberators" Dupont alluded to the British Liberals, and above all to Gladstone, who in his time exposed in the press the Government of Ferdinand II, of Naples, which maltreated political prisoners, participants in the Italian national liberation movement.

p. 176

233 The arrest by Negus Theodore II of the British consul Cameron and a group of Europeans who intrigued against the Negus led to the war between Britain and Abyssinia (1867-68). In April 1867 the British Government began preparations for a military ex-

pedition to Abyssinia, and on November 19, 1867 Queen Victoria officially declared war.

p. 178

234 The text of this memorial drawn up by Marx in English was not reproduced in the English press. It was recorded in the General Council's Minute Book. There also survived a MS copy of it made by Marx's wife in the form of an article to be published in the press (see pp. 312-13 of the present volume). The French translation of this article appeared in *Le Courrier Français* on November 24, 1867.

p. 179

235 The text of the resolution moved by Fox can also be found in his letter to Marx written on November 23, 1867. In a letter to Engels, dated November 30, 1867, Marx described the resolution as "absurd and meaningless".

p. 181

236 A detailed report of this meeting can be found in Marx's letter to Engels, dated November 30, 1867:

"... If you read the papers you will have seen that 1) the Memorial of the International Council for the Fenians was sent to Hardy, and that 2) the debate on Fenianism was public (last Tuesday a week) and reported in *The Times*. Reporters of the Dublin *Irishman* and *Nation* were among those present. I came very late (I ran a temperature for about a fortnight and the fever passed only two days ago) and really did not intend to speak, firstly because of my troublesome physical condition, and secondly because of the ticklish situation. However, Weston, who was in the chair, tried to force me to, so I moved to adjourn, which obligated me to speak last Tuesday. As a matter of fact what I had prepared for Tuesday last was not a speech but the points of a speech. But the Irish reporters failed to come, and we waited until 9 o'clock whereas the premises were put at our disposal only up to half past ten. On my proposal, Fox had prepared a long speech (because of the quarrel in the Council he had not made an appearance for a fortnight; besides he had sent in his resignation as member of the Council, containing gross attacks on Jung). After the opening of the sitting I therefore stated I would yield the floor to Fox on account of the belated hour. Actually—because of the Manchester executions that had taken place in the meantime—our subject, Fenianism, was liable to inflame the passions to such heat that *I* (but not the abstract Fox) would have been forced to *hurl* revolutionary thunderbolts instead of soberly analysing the state of affairs and the movement as I had intended. The Irish reporters therefore, by staying away and delaying the opening of the meeting, did signal service for me. I don't like to mix with a crowd like Roberts, Stephens, and the rest. Fox's speech was good, for one thing because it was delivered by an *Englishman* and for another because it concerned

only the political and international aspects. For that very reason he just skimmed along the surface of things."

Notes for Marx's undelivered speech on Ireland which he had prepared for this Council meeting are extant (see pp. 253-58 of the present volume).

p. 182

237 The Minutes of the General Council meeting of December 3 are not recorded in the Minute Book while *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* No. 321, December 7, 1867, published the following report of it:

"On account of a meeting convened by the French democrats, resident in London, to protest against the French occupation of Rome, the Council of the International Working Men's Association had but a short meeting to transact some administrative business. Letters were handed to the General Secretary announcing the formation of a new section of the Association at Digne (Basses-Alpes) in France, and a cordial vote of thanks, passed by the Marseilles section, to the Council for the memorial addressed to the British Government on behalf of the (alas now executed) Fenians, at Manchester. The corresponding secretary states that the Marseilles section bids fair to assume gigantic proportions. At Leipzig arrangements have been made to publish a weekly working men's paper, under the auspices of the Association. A preliminary number, containing prospectus, platform, etc., will be issued in the course of the present month; the regular weekly publication is to commence in the first week of the ensuing year."

p. 182

238 Reference is to the publication in English in pamphlet form of the Rules approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866 (see pp. 265-70 of the present volume). The pamphlet appeared in London at the end of 1867 under the title *Rules of the International Working Men's Association.*

p. 182

239 The report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive* No. 325, January 4, 1868, adds the following to Lawrence's speech: "He observed that *The Times* had found fault with the amount set down in the balance-sheet as expenditure of the Executive, but, as far as he was aware, no strike had ever been carried on cheaper. The expenses of the committee, delegations, and deputations hardly amounted to five per cent of the whole expenditure, and this included the deductions for post-office orders, loss on stamps converted into cash, and changing foreign money. According to the report of the Social Science Association, the expense of the general committee of the Preston cotton spinners' strike had been 15 ½ per cent."

p. 184

[240] Pursuing demagogical ends, the Government of Napoleon III was at first fairly tolerant to the International's activities in France though it did not give its sanction to the formation of sections of the International in the country. But as time went on and the revolutionary proletarian character of the first working-class international organisation became manifest, the position of the French sections was changing. The police began to keep an eye on them; the government's first hostile act was the confiscation of the Geneva Congress documents at the French frontier.

At the close of 1867, the prosecutor gave orders to make searches at the houses of the Paris Committee members, counting on finding proofs that the International was a secret society. Such proofs were not found, however, and the Paris Committee members were charged with forming a society without the sanction of the authorities. The case was heard in the Paris Criminal Court on March 6 and 20, 1868. While under examination, the fifteen members of the Committee (Chemalé, Tolain, Héligon, Camélinat, Murat, Perrachon, Fournoise, Gauthier, Dauthier, Bellamy, Gérardin, Bastien, Guyard, Delahaye, Delorme) declared the existing Committee to be dissolved and appointed new elections. On March 8, 1868, a second Paris Committee was formed consisting of Bourdon, Varlin, Malon, Combault, Mollin, Landrin, Humbert, Granjon, and Charboneau. This gave rise to the instigation of a new case, the so-called "Second Committee" case, which was heard on May 22, 1868. At these two trials and during the examination of the cases in the Court of Appeal, the accused, almost all of whom refused counsel, made speeches in defence of the Committee in which they brilliantly expounded the ideas of the International. Of particular interest is Varlin's speech describing the International's history from 1864 to 1868. The court declared the Paris section to be dissolved and fined the members of the first Paris Committee. The members of the second Committee came off rather worse: the accused were condemned to three months' imprisonment and fined.

p. 184

[241] As is seen from Eccarius's letter to Marx, dated January 12, 1868, on January 8 the General Council could not meet in the Cleveland Hall because they could not afford to pay the rent for the premises. It was decided temporarily to use Maurice's office in Castle Street where the Council held its meetings in the summer of 1867.

p. 185

[242] Following discussion of these questions by the affiliated societies, they were to be included in the agenda of the next congress of the International which was to be held in Brussels in 1868. The question of the public ownership of land, mines and means of communication directed the International's sections to a wide-spread discussion of the socialist principles of the programme.

p. 186

243 A meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the February 1848 Revolution in France was convened by the French branch in London and held in the Cleveland Hall on February 24, 1868 under the chairmanship of Jung. It was attended by more than 500 people, mainly representatives of the working-class and petty-bourgeois revolutionary émigrés from France and other countries. Greetings from Victor Hugo and Mazzini were announced. Then Félix Pyat made a speech. The report of this meeting appeared in *The Bee-Hive* No. 333, February 29, 1868.

p. 187

244 The Bye-Laws of the British sections, published together with the Rules of the International approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866 (see p. 270 of the present volume), were signed by Robert Shaw as chairman and John George Eccarius as honorary general secretary. The 1864 and 1866 London editions of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules gave the full list of General Council members.

p. 187

245 The circular on collecting statistics for the General Council's report and the appeal to the members of the International concerning preparations for the Brussels Congress, both approved by this meeting, were published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 331, February 15; *La Tribune du People* No. 3, March 29; *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 12, March 22; *Der Vorbote* No. 3, March; *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 9, February 29, 1868.

p. 188

246 Jung read Dupleix's letter to him dated February 4, 1868.

p. 191

247 This refers to the publication of the Lausanne Congress Minutes (see Note 230) stitched together with the reports submitted to the Congress: *Rapports lus au Congrès ouvrier réuni du 2 au 8 septembre 1867 à Lausanne. La Chaux-de-Fonds, impr. Voix de l'Avenir, 1867, 132 p.* (Prix—80 centimes.) From the announcement in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 29, July 19, 1868, it appears that this pamphlet was sold at 1 franc 50 centimes.

p. 191

248 The entry made in the Minute Book is not exact. In the report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 331, February 15, 1868, this information from Paris is given as follows:

"The inquiry into the conduct of the members of the Paris Committee is still going on. M. Gonet, the *juge d'instruction*, does not know what to make of it. He is morally certain that the accused are no friends of the present *regime*, nor much in favour of the existing state of things generally, but the domiciliary visits, made at six o'clock one morning between Christmas and New Year's day, have, instead of Fenian plots and plans, only

yielded a few French copies of an address that has freely circulated, in different languages, for more than three years throughout the civilised world; and some letters from London containing strong expressions of opinions on various subjects. M. Gonet has come to the conclusion that there must be something behind the screen that the vigilance of the imperial spies cannot lay hold of. He maintains that the International Working Men's Association in France is only a device to deceive the authorities, that the English names on the London Council are men of straw, and that it is only the French revolutionists in London with whom the Paris sympathisers are in correspondence, and from whom they receive the secret instructions which the police cannot get at. In default of incriminating documents and indictable offences the men expect to be punished for their sentiments, and for what the imperial authorities may consider them capable of, if they had a chance of doing it."

p. 191

249 See Note 245.

p. 192

250 In the report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 331, February 15, 1868, the last two paragraphs are replaced by the following text: "The Secretary reported that all the circular letters had been sent out, and that the Secretary of the London Cigar-Makers' Association had already replied to the questions."

p. 192

251 *The Bee-Hive* No. 331, February 15, 1868, presents Lawrence's information as follows: "He said the wealthy classes had banks to carry on their own business, which enabled business men to use the money of those who did not carry on any business themselves. To make co-operative production successful the working classes must have banks of their own. At the very lowest estimate, the working class had £15,000,000 sterling in the banks, which at present was used by the wealthy for a nominal interest, and was in reality used against the working class."

p. 192

252 Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers—one of the oldest co-operative societies in England founded early in 1844 under the direct influence of Robert Owen.

p. 193

253 The quarterly meeting of the Operative Tailors' Protective Association, held on February 25, 1868 in Cleveland Hall, Fitzroy Street, approved the new rules drawn up by the Executive; according to these rules the association was reorganised on the pattern of the Amalgamated Engineers' Society, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and similar big trade unions.

p. 193

[254] This refers to the questions on labour statistics (see pp. 188-89 of the present volume).

p. 194

[255] The letter of Tacker, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Tailors' Society of the U.S.A. and Canada, was read by Lawrence at a general meeting of the Operative Tailors' Protective Association held on February 25, 1868 (see Note 253).

p. 194

[256] The report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive* No. 334, March 7, 1868, says that the Lynn branch of the International Working Men's Association held a meeting at the Albion Hotel, at which the following resolutions were adopted: "1st. 'That the credit system established on the co-operative principle, facilitated by the use of paper-money, would be beneficial to the working classes.' 2nd. 'Under the present system machinery is very detrimental to the labouring classes.' 3rd. 'This meeting is of opinion that it is highly expedient to draw up a programme for the technical and a comprehensive secular education of the children of the working classes.' 4th. 'This meeting is of opinion that there could be no such thing as private property in land originally, and that the sooner it would be converted again into public property the better it would be for the nation at large.' 5th. 'This meeting seeing that the intelligent portion of the working classes view strikes as evils, although under certain circumstances necessary, would be most happy to embrace any means which might be introduced to prevent the same.' "

p. 195

[257] *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 9, March 1, 1868, carried F. Paillard's article "Position des ouvriers en bâtiment à Genève" citing figures on the living conditions of the building workers.

p. 195

[258] All these facts on the International's activities in Belgium are to be found in De Paepe's letter from Brussels, dated February 6 and published in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 9, March 1, 1868.

p. 195

[259] The Belgian workers' address to the British workers concerning the Fenians was adopted by the Belgian sections on March 15, 1868 and published in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 6, June 14, 1868. The address showed their warm sympathy with the Irish national liberation movement. Alongside the views which bear the strong influence of Proudhon's anarchist and federalist ideas, it stated: "As socialists we are aware that the cause of Ireland is our cause. Is it not the parasitism of the ruling class based on the exploitation of labour that has reduced Ireland to the present degree of misery and, we would even say, abasement? The rulers of England, bankers and landowners, have realised this very well. Were Ireland to demand independence pure and simple, they would

not be worried: force is on their side. But why this panic so skilfully spread, these boosted armaments, this enrolment of special constables? It is because they do not only fear the Irish; it is against you, English workmen, that all that is directed. Think where your enemies are: among the Irish people or the English aristocracy? Recall the latter's stand in your campaign for the electoral reform! Recall the armed soldiers ready to open fire against you during your meetings in Hyde Park! ... The English aristocracy is out for one thing only: to make you hate the Irish people in order to distract your attention from the great economic and social reforms with which you are preoccupied and to wrest from you the few things you have won." Judging by the editors' note prefaced to this text, the address was reproduced in the English press.

p. 195

[260] In March 1868, Pellaton, the secretary of the Geneva section, addressed an appeal to all commercial and government clerks, excluding the police and court officials, urging them to form a trade union and join the International. It was published in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 11, March 15, 1868, and reprinted in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 3, March 29.

p. 197

[261] Reference is apparently to the German democratic union in La Chaux-de-Fonds. *Der Vorbote* No. 3, March 1868, carried an announcement about the union's intention to declare itself a section of the International.

p. 198

[262] The report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive* No. 336, March 21, 1868, has the following text not recorded in the Minute Book: "A letter was read from Pest, in Hungary, announcing the establishing of a working men's association which numbers already 800 members. The letter was accompanied by a printed manifesto containing a platform of principles equal to similar documents that are occasionally issued by working men's associations in the most industrially developed countries."

p. 198

[263] The entry is apparently wrong; the report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive* No. 334, March 7, 1868, mentions Birmingham. Compare the General Council's Minutes for October 8, 1867, which say that some copies of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules had been sent to the Birmingham Trades Council.

p. 200

[264] *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 12, March 22, 1868, published the report of the Geneva building workers' Central Committee submitted to a general meeting on January 19.

p. 200

265 The Rouen section was founded in the summer of 1866 and was represented at the Geneva and Lausanne congresses by its organiser Emile Aubry, a lithographer. The section existed as a circle for studying economic problems.

p. 201

266 The extracts are from *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 13, March 29, 1868; in particular a letter was read from joiner Courtois, whose contractor, Baumgartner, had said that if he wanted to retain his job he had to leave the International.

p. 201

267 The General Council's statement on the Geneva building workers' lock-out, drawn up by Eccarius and endorsed by the Standing Committee on April 4, was published in *The Evening Star* on April 6, 1868 (see pp. 317-18 of the present volume). Detailed information about the causes of the strike, its development and the situation in Geneva was also included by Eccarius in the report of the regular Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 338, April 4, 1868.

p. 201

268 The report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 338, April 4, 1868, states the following fact which is not given in the Minute Book: "At Vienne ... a bi-weekly working men's paper, *Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung*, has been established advocating social democracy, 30,000 copies of which were sold on the first day of its appearance."

p. 201

269 Graglia, a member of the Geneva section committee, was sent to Paris and London to arrange for financial aid for the Geneva building workers on strike. He arrived in Paris on April 5; on April 6 he came to London, and in the evening of the same day he attended a meeting of the French branch; the next day Graglia was present at the General Council meeting and then, accompanied by Jung, he visited some more workers' societies and left for Geneva after April 9.

p. 202

270 In view of the attempted provocations to incite clashes between the Geneva workers and the police, *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 15, April 12, 1868, printed the following announcement: "Recently members of the Association have become the objects of provocations and insults aimed at causing a clash. We hope that the provocateurs will be put in their place and that you will continue, with dignity and firmness, to advocate your just demands. Let public opinion be judge. On behalf of the Central Committee of all sections, the Executive Commission."

p. 203

[271] The Paris section's appeal for collecting funds for the Geneva building workers, drawn up and signed by Varlin, was published in the bourgeois-progressive newspaper *L'Opinion nationale* on April 5, 1868. The appeal set forth the causes of the strike and the workers' demands.

p. 203

[272] The Social Party of New York and its suburbs, one of whose leaders was Sorge, was formed in January 1868 as a result of the merger of the Communist Club (see Note 175) and the New York General Union of German Workers. Founded in 1865 by a group of German émigrés, followers of Lassalle, the Union gradually began to depart from Lassalle's dogmas, for which it was criticised by the orthodox Lassalleans in Germany. The formation of the Social Party was an important stage in uniting the German workers in the U.S.A. on the basis of scientific communism and greatly promoted the International's prestige in America.

p. 203

[273] Apparently a slip of the pen: *La Voix de l'Avenir* did not publish this notice.

p. 204

[274] Bund Deutscher Männer—one of the German émigré organisations in London, known to exist in 1859.

p. 204

[275] National Sunday League—philanthropic educational organisation that fought for museums, concert halls and similar institutions to be open to workers on Sundays since they could not visit them on week-days. R. M. Morell was its honorary secretary and the bourgeois radical Baxter Langley was a member of the League's Council. The League met strong opposition from the Church of England and sanctimonious religious organisations which fought for strict observance of the Sabbath.

As co-tenant, the General Council used the League's office at 256, High Holborn, London, from June 1868 to February 1872.

p. 204

[276] As is evident from the Minutes of the previous meeting, the papers spread the rumours that the Geneva building workers' strike was a success (see p. 204 of the present volume). The report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive* No. 341, April 25, 1868, contained Jung's refutation of these rumours and his statement that the employers had again launched an offensive, as well as the following announcement: "Under these circumstances the Council continues to solicit aid from the London workmen."

p. 205

[277] The text of the "Appeal to the Paris Workers of All Trades" was reproduced in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 16, April 19, 1868.

On April 19, 1868, *Le Courrier Français* published another appeal by the Paris Committee, signed by Malon, Varlin and Landrin, which called for funds for the Geneva builders.

p. 206

278 On March 26, 1868, the Charleroi coalfield, Belgium, was the scene of bloody clashes between strikers, who protested against lower wages and reduced production, and the police troops. Twenty-two people, including five women, were arrested and put on trial, charged with attempted murder and damage to the colliery owners' property. On April 5, the Brussels section set up a special committee to brief lawyers for the defence of the arrested. The lawyers managed to set public opinion in favour of the accused, and on August 15 the Jury acquitted them on the plea that the workers' actions had been provoked by an unreasonable cut in wages that doomed their families to starvation, and that their preliminary five months' imprisonment was in itself a severe punishment.

The Address to the Workers of the Charleroi Coalfield, to the Belgian Workers and to the Workers of All Countries, published by the Brussels section in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 4, April 19, 1868, stated: "Tell your imprisoned comrades that we shall take the necessary measures to constitute a committee for their defence in court."

p. 206

279 The facts quoted by Jung were published in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 4, April 19, 1868, in the report of the Brussels section meetings of March 30 and April 5, in the section's Address to the Workers of the Charleroi Coalfield, to the Belgian Workers and to the Workers of All Countries, as well as in the reviews of political affairs and of the labour movement given in the same issue of *La Tribune*.

p. 207

280 Reference is to the pamphlet compiled and published by Becker—*Die Internationale Arbeiter Association und die Arbeitseinstellung in Genf in Frühjahr 1868*—that appeared in Geneva in April 1868. The French translation came out also in Geneva in May 1868 under the title: *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et la grève genevoise en mars—avril 1868*, par J. Ph. Backer. Traduit par Fréd. Kohn. The pamphlet was sold towards the Geneva strikers' fund.

p. 207

281 Reference is to the loans granted to the Paris bronze-workers during their strike in the spring of 1867.

The report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 342, May 2, 1868, says that this information from Paris was given by a Council member who had just returned from there.

p. 207

[282] Jung's explanation at the bookbinders' meeting concerned the activities of the French branch in London (see Note 90). At the trial of the Paris members of the International the Public Prosecutor tried to depict the French branch in London as the centre of the secret activities allegedly conducted by the International Working Men's Association. To prove this, he mentioned two letters found during the domiciliary visits—of April 17 and May 12, 1867—in which Dupont, in connection with the Hyde Park demonstrations organised by the Reform League, expressed hopes that a European revolution was near. The documentary evidence also included a poster advertising a meeting organised by the French branch in the Cleveland Hall (see Note 243) to celebrate the anniversary of the February 1848 Revolution. The poster was signed by Dupont, Besson, Le Lubez, and others.

p. 208

[283] The form of the membership card of the International Working Men's Association was first approved by the Standing Committee in November 1864. The card was meant for persons joining the International in their individual capacities and for members of workers' societies adhering to the organisation in their corporate capacity, and was given by the General Council upon payment of their annual contributions. However, the British trade unions that joined the International in 1865-68 in large bodies did not, as a rule, receive cards for each member. The International's sections on the Continent began issuing their own membership cards as they took shape as organisations. The General Council's cards were used only in those countries where the International's organisations could not function legally and where individual membership was practised, that is, where there were only individual members connected directly with the General Council. This system was widespread in Germany, Austria, and partly—in different periods—in France, Italy, Spain, and other countries.

On the original card there were the handwritten signatures of the General Council's President, Treasurer, General Secretary and Corresponding Secretaries. Thus Marx, in his capacity as Corresponding Secretary for Germany, had to sign more than 1,500 cards (see Marx's letter to Engels of March 13, 1865) in the first months of the International's existence. Later, on Marx's initiative, only the General Secretary signed the cards, while the signatures of the other Council officials were included in the *cliché* and printed. That is why, from time to time, the General Council had to modify the *cliché* in order to make the signatures conform to Council changes. Originally the cards were numbered by hand. On December 26, 1865 it was decided to number the cards fresh from the printing house by a special machine; copies have survived from the 6,000th series. But the numbering of cards met with objections, mainly because of conspiracy considerations, and in 1868 the cards ceased to be numbered. Further, the name

of the card, "member's annual subscription card", was replaced by a shorter one, "card of membership".

p. 208

284 On May 12, 1868 Dupont, acting for Besson, still the Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, requested De Paepe to inform him of the details concerning the Charleroi events (see Note 278).

p. 209

285 See Note 275.

p. 210

286 The letter, dated May 21, 1868, was from Vandenhouten. Césare De Paepe at the time was preparing for examinations at the medical faculty. He combined studies with his job as a compositor and with extensive publicist and organisational activities in the capacity of a leader of the Belgian labour movement and Belgian sections of the International.

p. 212

287 See Note 240.

p. 212

288 The material exposing the French and Belgian governments was used by Marx for drawing up the General Council's report to the Brussels Congress (see pp. 324-27 of the present volume).

p. 212

289 On May 29 Marx left for Manchester to visit Engels, and his draft resolution was moved by Jung at the next Council meeting.

p. 212

290 On May 16, 1868 Jules Bara, the Belgian Minister of Justice, spoke in Parliament urging the deputies to renew the Aliens Law of 1835 under which any foreigner could be expelled from the country as being politically unreliable. Bara said that he would do his best to prevent the International's congress from meeting in Brussels.

An open letter addressed by the Executive Committee and the Federal Council of the Belgian sections to Minister Bara was published in *La Tribune du People* No. 5, May 24, 1868. It protested against the Belgian Government's violation of elementary civil rights and rebuffed the slanderous accusations against the International.

p. 213

291 A public meeting at Charleroi was held on May 31, 1868 and was one of the mass meetings organised by the Belgian Committee on Sundays, May 24 and 31 and June 7, in various towns to spread the ideas of the International.

p. 213

[292] The Free Workmen (Francs Ouvriers) of Verviers (Belgium) officially joined the International on May 4, 1868.

p. 213

[293] The resolution drawn up by Marx was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 347, June 6, 1868.

p. 214

[294] Reference is to the monthly *Le Fédéraliste*, the programme of which, drawn up by Right-wing Proudhonists Fribourg and Chemalé, was published in Paris in July 1868; it proclaimed the demand to liberate the proletarians "without ever calling on the assistance of authority" and put forward the mutualist principle of political, economic, agricultural, and industrial federation. This programme was to serve as an election platform for Tolain and Fribourg who wanted, to use Dupont's words, "to come forward in 1869 as *workers'* candidates for the Legislative Corps, proceeding from the principle that only workers can represent workers" (see Marx's letter to Engels dated September 26, 1866).

The publication of *Le Fédéraliste* did not materialise.

p. 214

[295] Reference is to the Brussels section's Address to the Workers of the Charleroi Coalfield, to the Belgian Workers and to the Workers of All Countries (see Note 278).

p. 215

[296] Reference is to the following workers' publications in Belgium: *La Tribune du Peuple*—a newspaper that began publication in Brussels in 1861; in 1866 it became the Brussels section's organ; *Le Devoir*—a weekly that began publication in Liége in 1865; in 1868 it became the organ of the local section of the International; *Le Mirabeau*—a monthly founded in December 1867 as the organ of the association of The Free Workmen of Verviers which in the spring of 1868 joined the International; *De Werker*—a weekly founded in Antwerp in 1868 as the organ of the Flemish section. Further, the Brussels democratic newspapers *La Cigale*, *La Liberté*, and *Le Peuple Belge* regularly published the International's documents and reports about the activities of its different sections.

p. 215

[297] The announcement about the formation of the Nyon branch was published in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 23, June 7, 1868. Following this announcement the newspaper carried a general list of the 23 sections of the International operating in Geneva at the time.

p. 216

[298] The proposal, which Jung made on Marx's instructions on June 2, to hold the next congress of the International in London instead of Brussels gave birth to a discussion in the General Council that continued at the meetings of June 9 and 16. The proposal met

with strong opposition from the English Council members headed by Odger, and some members of the French branch in London. The reason for these two groups to adopt this stand was, apparently, the fear that Marx's presence at the congress would greatly increase the influence of the revolutionary-proletarian elements that rallied around Marx.

Prior to the Council meeting of June 9, Dupont and Jung carried out extensive work; the former, at the monthly meeting of the French branch in London held on June 6; and the latter, among the English Council members. On June 11, Jung wrote to Marx who was in Manchester: "Odger has again made his appearance and it appears with the object of preventing our Congress from taking place in London; so we have had some very hard fighting both last Tuesday and the one before and still our resolutions have not passed yet. I think I have been very successful, so far, for I have got almost the whole of the English members with us: Hales, Lucraft, Milner, Buckley; at first they were opposed to the holding of the Congress in London, that is to say: they endorsed the views of Odger; you must try to be at our meeting next Tuesday, but I should like to see you before that meeting, if you can make it convenient; so that I shall put you *'au courant de l'affaire'*."

p. 216

[299] In the report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 349, June 20, 1868, correspondence from Paris is immediately followed by the text of Varlin's speech in defence of the condemned which he made in court on May 22.

p. 219

[300] The workers' society Les Affranchis was founded in Jumet (Charleroi coalfield) on May 24, 1868 as a section of the International.

p. 219

[301] This article of the Paris correspondent of *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe*, organ of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom published in Berne, was reproduced in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 24, June 14, 1868. Describing the International as a reformist organisation campaigning for labour legislation, the author of the article wrote: "This issue is too large and, especially, too complex to be solved otherwise than on a European scale. Any industrial issue is an international issue today."

p. 219

[302] Upon his return from Manchester about June 15, Marx was able to familiarise himself with the documents received from Belgium during his absence. These were, first, the full text of the statement made by the Minister of Justice Bara and the open letter to him written by the Belgian section (see Note 290), and, secondly, private letters from De Paepe and Vandenhouten affirming the section's intention of not yielding to the government over the

Congress's location. All this caused Marx to withdraw his resolution moved on May 26. "I do not have to say anything about the vile intrigues of Vésinier who is now here, or of Pyat, etc.," Marx wrote to Engels on June 20, 1868 about the Council meeting of June 16. "They naturally spread rumours that we are working under Bonaparte's dictate.

"They counted on a big scandal at this last meeting and had therefore brought many guests to it. They were very much disappointed when, after reading the documents, etc., and relying on them, I withdrew my resolution. I changed the matter in this way: the law against foreigners was not immediately directed against the International. It was *general*. But the International would have made a *concession* to the Belgian Government if, under such legislature, it chose Brussels as its meeting place. Now things are quite the contrary. Now, when the Belgian Government directly threatens and provokes us, we should be making a concession to it if we moved the congress from Brussels, etc. At the same time I made some very cutting remarks about the heroic tone in which the opponents of my resolutions (Odger, etc.) spoke before they were aware of the changed state of circumstances. The only danger that could have been incurred, was that of cheap martyrdom and ridicule. Mrs. Law several times shouted: 'hear, hear!' and expressed her approval by tapping on the table. In any case I made it look as if Odger, etc., was the object of ridicule, and the rescinding of the resolutions was not interpreted as their victory."

p. 220

303 Reincke's address to his constituency, signed Berlin, June 19, 1868, was reproduced in the report of this meeting of the General Council in *The Bee-Hive* No. 350, June 27, 1868.

p. 222

304 The Leipzig compositors' letter of April 24, 1868, signed by the lithographer Julius Suss, and the Paris lithographers' reply to it, dated May 26 and signed by workers' delegates, were reproduced in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 25, June 21, 1868.

p. 222

305 The co-operative shoemakers' workshop in Geneva was founded on the principles set forth by Marx in the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 340-51). Unlike the supporters of Proudhon, Lassalle, Owen, and the bourgeois co-operators who regarded one or another co-operative system as a panacea from all social evils, the followers of Marx and Engels argued that the co-operative system could never transform capitalist society unless the workers took state power into their own hands. At the same time, they stressed that participation in the co-operative movement was of great educa-

tional importance to the workers for it destroyed the myth about the eternity and stability of the capitalist system, strengthened their faith in the proletariat, and imparted useful organisational and economic habits to them. In his "Instructions" Marx put forward a number of practical measures for creating workers' co-operatives, which were embodied in the model co-operative rules published by Becker in *Der Vorbote* in December 1866-January 1867. According to these rules, the Geneva co-operative shoemakers' society handed in one-sixth of its profit to the International's central fund; one-sixth went into the indivisible fund intended for capital investment; one-sixth was allotted for mutual aid funds; one-sixth for the reserve fund; finally, the last two-sixths were to be shared equally among the co-operative members who, in addition, received weekly wages. The co-operative society could not employ hired labour but was obliged to admit, without restrictions, new members and accord them full rights.

p. 222

306 The public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 Insurrection of the Paris workers was held on June 29, 1868 in the Cleveland Hall, London. Such meetings were annually convened by the German Workers' Educational Association in London jointly with other émigré organisations.

Félix Pyat who attended the meeting read an address, which he supposedly received from the secret society called the Paris Revolutionary Commune, and moved a provocative resolution declaring the assassination of Napoleon III the sacred duty of every Frenchman. The text of the resolution was reproduced in *The Bee-Hive* No. 351, July 4, 1868.

p. 222

307 This refers to the invitation to the International's Congress in 1868 of a delegate from the American Labour Reform Association, an organisation founded by Osborne Ward in 1865. The American labour organisations were not represented at the Brussels Congress.

p. 222

308 The Brussels newspaper *La Cigale* No. 25, June 21, 1868, published Pierre Vésinier's correspondence from London which was signed "member of the International, P. V." The article distorted the discussion on the question of the removal of the meeting place of the Congress held at the General Council meeting on June 9 and made slanderous attacks on Dupont and Jung. On June 22 the Brussels central section unanimously decided to renounce all responsibility for Vésinier's article and to express a protest against divulging, in the press, the International's internal affairs. The letter read at this meeting of the General Council was signed by De Paepe, Maetens, Delessalle, and Rochard on June 23, 1868.

The Belgian section's protest against the slanderous insinua-

tions contained in Vésinier's article against Dupont and Jung was published in *La Cigale* No. 26, June 28, 1868.

p. 223

309 The report of the General Council meeting of July 7, published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 352, July 11, 1868, has the following: "The Council has not received any notice of a strike at Geneva."

p. 223

310 The Brussels newspaper *L'Espiègle* No. 25, July 5, 1868, carried a report about the public meeting at the Cleveland Hall on June 29 (see Note 306) which described this meeting as a meeting of the International's members with Pyat as one of its organisers.

p. 224

311 The text of the resolution against Félix Pyat, drawn up by Marx, was published in *La Liberté* No. 55, July 12, and then reproduced in *La Cigale* No. 29, July 19, and in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 7, July 26, 1868.

From Eccarius's letter to De Paepe, dated August 7, 1868, it is evident that in its official resolution the German Workers' Educational Association in London, which initiated the meeting in the Cleveland Hall, unreservedly subscribed to the General Council resolution. Pyat's provocative attacks, especially untimely at the moment when France herself was the scene of increased reprisals against all revolutionaries and even all opposition, met with indignation on the part of Blanqui's comrades-in-arm and disciples who were in Brussels. Blanquist J. Tridon administered a strong rebuff to Pyat in *La Cigale* No. 29, July 19, 1868; he directly accused him of provocations and disputed the existence of any secret society connected with Pyat.

p. 224

312 *Le Courrier Français,* of May 6, 1868, carried an announcement about the collection of money for publishing the material of the trial of the International's members (see Note 240). "The light must find its way to the masses," the announcement stated. The publication of *Procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Bureau de Paris.* Paris, Chevalier, 1868, was realised late in summer.

p. 225

313 The leaflet concerning the convocation of the Brussels Congress, published by the Brussels section and the Belgian Federal Council of the International, appeared in Brussels in the summer of 1868 in French and Flemish: *Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Avis aux ouvriers de toute profession et de tous pays* and *Internationale Werkersvereeniging. Bericht aan de werklieden van alle handbedrijf en van landen.*

The French text of the leaflet was reproduced in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 36, September 6, 1868.

p. 225

[314] This refers to the address to the trade unionists of Great Britain and Ireland in connection with the Brussels Congress (see pp. 319-23 of the present volume). It was published as a leaflet in London early in July 1868 under the title "To the Trades' Unionists of Great Britain and Ireland" and in *The Bee-Hive* No. 353, July 25, 1868. The German translation of the address was published in part in *Der Vorbote* No. 8, August 1868, and in the leaflet concerning the Congress issued by the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva in August 1868.

In connection with the preparations for the Brussels Congress, the German newspaper *Hermann* in London, in its issue No. 502, August 15, 1868, published the following "Appeal to the German Workmen in London" drawn up by Lessner and edited by Marx:

Workmen! On September 7 of this year the Third International Working Men's Congress will assemble in Brussels.

This Congress will discuss the best means for extending, strengthening and organising the joint activities of the international working men's association; also such questions which most closely deal with the interests of the working class and demand urgent solution. After all, it is necessary to come to a mutual agreement on the means of propaganda.

The questions which the General Council suggests for discussion at the Congress are as follows:

1. Reduction and regulation of the working day;
2. The influence of machinery in the hands of capitalists;
3. The nature of landownership;
4. The education of the working class;
5. The establishment of credit institutions with an end to promoting the social emancipation of the working class;
6. The best means for founding co-operative production societies.

To carry through this initiative presented by time and circumstances, we call upon you, too, to do everything in your power as unions or as individuals. It is necessary, through voluntary contributions, to collect funds to enable the German workmen in London to be represented by one or several delegates. It would be a shame if in these stormy times among the thousands of German workmen in London there could not be found enough people, inspired by the common understanding of their own class interests, to secure their representation at the Brussels Congress.

To get down to business! It is high time that the workmen of all lands should unite and understand that in order to wage a successful struggle against the capitalists' domination a mighty union of all contingents of the working class is needed.

It should not be forgotten that in the United States of America the *eight-hour* day has already been proclaimed *law* for all government institutions.

Let us also recall the historic words, full of profound content, which Karl Marx wrote in the Preface to *Capital* in 1867: "As in

the eighteenth century, the American war of independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle-class, so in the nineteenth century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working-class."

Contributions are accepted in the German Workers' Educational Association on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays from 9 o'clock in the evening by the secretary and the cashier.

In the name of the German Workers' Educational Association, the German branch of the International Working Men's Association,

the Board.

p. 225

315 The announcement about the suppression, by a court decision, of the Berlin branch of the General Union of German Workers was published in the *Demokratische Wochenblatt* No. 28, July 11, 1868.

For the annual meeting of the General Union of German Workers in Hamburg see Note 340.

p. 226

316 The address entitled "The International Working Men's Association to Its Fellow Working Men", published in *Der Vorbote* No. 7, July 1868 and signed by Becker and Münch in the name of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections, was simultaneously printed in French in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 28, July 12, 1868, and signed by Perret and Graglia in the name of the Central Committee of the sections in the Romance part of Switzerland.

p. 226

317 In 1867-68 the tsarist government took a number of administrative measures in Poland to abolish the Polish institutions and realise forcible Russification. The General Council's declaration proposed by Marx was published in the report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive* No. 352, July 18, 1868.

p. 226

318 On June 25, 1868 the American Congress passed a law introducing the eight-hour day for the workers of all government enterprises and federal institutions.

p. 226

319 The Standing Committee meeting of July 11, 1868 discussed the draft agenda of the Brussels Congress.

p. 226

320 Reference is to the address "To the Trades' Unionists of Great Britain and Ireland" (see pp. 319-23 of the present volume).

p. 228

321 Reference is to the League of German Workers' Unions headed by August Bebel. In his letter of July 17, 1868 Wilhelm Liebknecht informed Marx of some details concerning the preparations for

the League's general congress and of his and Bebel's intention of raising at the congress the question of affiliating to the International.

p. 228

322 *Le Réveil*—French weekly, and from May 1869 onwards daily, newspaper of the Left republicans; published under the editorship of Charles Delescluze in Paris between July 1868 and January 1871.

p. 228

323 Reference is to the questions for collecting labour statistics contained in the General Council's circular dated January 28, 1868 (see p. 188 of the present volume).

p. 228

324 Bebel's letter of July 23, 1868 was addressed to the General Council; Liebknecht's letter dated July 22, to Marx personally. In his letter Liebknecht insisted that Marx should come to Nuremberg to attend the general congress of the League of German Workers' Unions as the General Council's delegate. Marx refused, and Eccarius was sent to Nuremberg as the Council's delegate (see p. 249 of the present volume).

The Nuremberg Congress was held on September 5-7, 1868. By a majority vote (69 to 46) the Congress resolved to join the International Working Men's Association and elected a committee of 16 to carry out this resolution. These persons were approved by the General Council on September 22, 1868 as the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association for Germany.

p. 230

325 Peter Fox was at the time in Vienna.

p. 230

326 An Address of the Social-Democratic Union of New York to the Working Men of Geneva, signed on June 3, 1868 by Sorge and Vidler, was published in *Der Vorbote* No. 7, July, in *La Voix de l'Avenir* No. 30, July 26, and in *The Bee-Hive* No. 354, August 1, 1868. An extract from the address is given below.

p. 230

327 Reference is to a protest by some members of the French branch in London against the General Council's resolution of July 7, 1868 (see p. 224 of the present volume). Informing Engels of a regular Council meeting, Marx wrote in his letter of August 4, 1868:

"The wretched French branch has made a fine scandal for us. Pyat's followers have published in *La Cigale* a censure on the General Council. Their channel—the notorious Vésinier. We simply passed over to the order of the day, ignoring this vote of censure."

The outcome of the conflict in the French branch was that,

early in August 1868, the General Council members Dupont, Jung, Lafargue and Johannard, as well as the branch's members Plantade and Serrailler, withdrew from it. Subsequently, the so-called French branch in London lost all its ties with the International although it illegally continued to bear that name. On May 10, 1870 the General Council had to officially disassociate itself from this group and adopted the text of the resolution as proposed by Marx.

p. 230

[328] In his speech Marx put forward the basic ideas which he developed in Volume I of *Capital*, Chapter XIII: "Machinery and Modern Industry" (see Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter XV, Moscow 1959, pp. 371-504).

p. 231

[329] Reference is to the members of the Paris Committee, of the second composition, who were sentenced to imprisonment (Combault, Varlin, Landrin, Humbert, Malon, Charboneau, Mollin, Bourdon, and Granjon) (see Note 240) and were held in the Sainte-Pélagie prison in Paris.

p. 235

[330] After sentence was passed upon the Paris Committee of the second composition, the Paris sections assumed a semi-legal position and did not conduct official elections of a new committee. The leadership continued to be in the hands of the former committee where Varlin played a leading role.

p. 235

[331] The Lyons and Neuville-sur-Saône sections sent Albert Richard to the Brussels Congress.

p. 235

[332] This refers to the Berne Congress of the bourgeois-pacifist League of Peace and Freedom that opened on September 22, 1868.

p. 236

[333] Reference is apparently to a pamphlet by James Leach, a Chartist, which Engels mentions and uses in his book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow 1962, p. 168).

p. 238

[334] The Viennese workmen's address to the workmen of France and England was reproduced in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 8, August 21 and in *Der Vorbote* No. 8, August 1868.

p. 240

[335] The resolution drawn up by Marx was moved by Eccarius at the Brussels Congress of the International on September 9, 1868 and made part of the Congress decision on this question.

p. 240

[336] The Third Congress of the National Labour Union in New York opened on September 21, 1868. The Congress rejected the proposal by the preliminary conference to nominate an independent labour candidate for the U.S. presidency; however, it adopted a detailed declaration of principles, the greater part of which is devoted to the utopian draft currency reform set forth in the Minutes of this Council meeting.

p. 241

[337] What is meant here is Volume I of Marx's *Capital*, the first edition of which came out in German in September 1867.

p. 242

[338] This refers to the cotton crisis in the English industry due to the cessation of the cotton imports from America as a result of the blockade of the Southern States by the Northern fleet in the American Civil War (1861-65). In 1862, three-fifths of the total number of spindles and looms came to a standstill; over 75 per cent of the cotton workers were fully or partially unemployed for two or three years.

p. 243

[339] This refers to a pamphlet by the Berlin socialist Wilhelm Eichhoff *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung*. Berlin, 1868. It was written on Marx's instructions who provided Eichhoff with a plan, documents and, as is evident from Eichhoff's letters, himself wrote some parts of it.

p. 246

[340] The fact that the invitation to attend the annual conference of the Lassallean General Union of German Workers, to be held in Hamburg on August 22-25, was signed by more than 20 workers from the different parts of Germany, made it incumbent upon Marx, as he himself wrote to Engels on August 26, 1868, to devote special attention to his reply. "The reason I gave for not coming," Marx wrote, "was the work of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association, and I said I was glad to see that the starting points of any 'serious' working-class movement—agitation for full political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class—were emphasised in their *programme* for the Congress. That is, in other words, I congratulated them on having given up *Lassalle's programme*." The reply is not extant.

The Hamburg Conference showed that the most progressive members of the General Union of German Workers, influenced by the labour movement, began to disassociate themselves from the Lassallean dogmas. In principle, it recognised the necessity for joint action by the workers of different countries, but in fact the Union's leaders prevented it from affiliating to the International.

p. 246

[341] Dassy was not present at the Brussels Congress.

p. 246

[342] The announcement about the decision to affiliate to the International adopted by the delegate meeting of 50 German workers' educational societies in Switzerland, held in Neuchâtel (Neuenburg) on August 9-10, 1868, was published in *Der Vorbote* No. 8, August 1868.

p. 247

[343] What is meant here is the address "To the Trades' Unionists of Great Britain and Ireland" drawn up in connection with the Brussels Congress.

p. 248

[344] The Society for the Emancipation of Thought and the Individual (Société du sou pour l'affranchissement de la pensée et de l'individu), numbering nearly 1,000 members, at its general meeting on August 15 expressed its sympathy with the International and elected Catalan as its delegate to the Brussels Congress.

p. 248

[345] Drawn up by Marx, this resolution was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 359, August 29, 1868. At the Brussels Congress this resolution was moved by Eccarius and read in the report of the commission on reducing working hours on September 12, 1868.

p. 249

[346] The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association drawn up by Marx (see pp. 324-29 of the present volume) was delivered at the Brussels Congress on September 7. It was first published in English in Eccarius's correspondence in *The Times* on September 9, 1868. The German translation, made by Marx himself, is extant in the form of a copy written by Marx's wife; it was published in *Der Vorbote* No. 9 in September and in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 37, September 12, 1868. In French the report was published in a special supplement to the newspaper *Le Peuple Belge* and in the newspaper *La Liberté* No. 64, September 13, 1868.

p. 250

[347] Eccarius left London on August 29, 1868.

p. 250

[348] The General Council's accounts were submitted for approval by the Congress of the International.

The Minutes of the General Council published in this volume show that Marx took an active part in and exercised direct leadership over the Council's preparations for the Brussels Congress. However, Marx himself was not present at the Congress. The Brussels Congress was attended by nearly 100 delegates representing the workers of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. It adopted an important resolution necessitating

the establishment of common ownership of the railways, mines and quarries, as well as the forests and arable land. This resolution showed that the majority of French and Belgian Proudhonists had become supporters of collectivism, and marked the victory of proletarian socialism over petty-bourgeois reformism within the International. The Congress adopted Marx's resolutions on the eight-hour day, on the influence of machinery upon the condition of the workers under capitalism, on the attitude towards the Congress of the bourgeois-democratic League of Peace and Freedom (see pp. 152-53 of the present volume), as well as Lessner's resolution, moved in the name of the German delegation, recommending the workers of all countries to study Marx's *Capital* and secure its translation into other languages.

p. 250

349 These notes were prepared by Marx for his speech to be delivered in the General Council (see Note 229). Started on November 19, 1867, the discussion on Ireland, on Marx's proposal, was adjourned to the next meeting, November 26, when Marx intended to make his speech. On November 23, however, three of the convicted Fenians were executed in Manchester. Marx thought his speech inappropriate in the conditions of general excitement caused by the execution. He yielded the floor to Peter Fox, considering it important that at such a crucial moment an English member of the General Council should speak expressing sympathy with the Irish and condemning the British Government's bloody act. Marx used these notes for his undelivered speech and the material he collected for it in the report on Ireland which he delivered in the German Workers' Educational Association in London on December 16, 1867.

p. 253

350 Reference is to the Act of Settlement passed by the Long Parliament on August 12, 1652, following the suppression of the Irish national liberation uprising of 1641-52. It legalised the regime of bloody violence and terror established in Ireland by the British colonialists and sanctioned the plunder of Irish lands in favour of the British bourgeoisie and of the "new", bourgeoisified nobility. Under this Act most of the Irish were declared "guilty of revolt". Among the "guilty" were listed even Irishmen who did not show proper "loyalty" to the British crown though they had not taken a direct part in the uprising. Depending on the degree of their participation in the uprising the "guilty" were divided into categories and subjected to severe repressive measures: execution, deportation, and confiscation of property. On September 26, 1653 this Act of Settlement was supplemented by a new Act prescribing the transfer of Irishmen whose land was confiscated into the deserted province of Connaught and County Clare, and establishing the order for allotting the confiscated land to the parliamentary creditors and British officers and soldiers. Both

Acts consolidated and extended the economic basis of English landlordism in Ireland.

p. 253

[351] The Habeas Corpus Act was enacted by the British Parliament in 1679. By this Act every writ must have a motive and a detainee has to be brought to court within a short space of time (from 3 to 20 days), or freed. The Act does not extend to high treason and can be suspended by Parliament.

p. 253

[352] Describing in these words the British Government's brutal policy towards the Irish Fenians, Marx uses the appraisal of the Fenian movement given by the Queen of England in her address to Parliament on November 19, 1867.

The Chronicle—English Catholic weekly, published in London in 1867-68.

p. 253

[353] In 1840, during his unsuccessful attempt to effect a coup d'état in Boulogne, Louis Bonaparte wounded an officer of the government troops. In his letter to Marx, dated November 24, 1867, Engels, referring to this episode, wrote that the British ruling classes for a similar incident, falsely incriminated at that, sent Fenians to the gallows, showing at the same time their servility and toadyism in regard to Napoleon III, the crowned criminal.

p. 253

[354] Under the corn acre system, characteristic of Irish land tenure, the bigger tenant, a middleman as a rule, leased, on shackling terms, land—plots of half an acre or an acre—to poorer tenants or farm hands. The term came into use in the eighteenth century, following the adoption of the law ordering that the rented plots had to be sown with cereals.

p. 256

[355] In describing the dreadful conditions of the Irish peasants in connection with the "clearing of estates", Marx alludes here to the analogous process of forced eviction of the Gaels (the Scottish Highlands) by the Anglo-Scottish aristocracy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; Marx describes this process in his article "Elections.—Financial Difficulties.—Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" and in Chapter XXIV of Volume I of *Capital* (see Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter XXVII, Moscow, 1959, pp. 717-33).

p. 257

[356] This refers to the Anglo-Irish Union imposed by the British Government on Ireland following the suppression of the Irish national uprising of 1798. Made effective as of January 1, 1801, this Union did away with the last vestiges of Ireland's autonomy and dissolved the Irish Parliament. It made for the consolidation of the

British colonial rule in Ireland. One of the economic consequences of the Union was, in particular, the abolition of the protective duties for the developing Irish industry, duties which were established by the Irish Parliament late in the eighteenth century. This led to the decline of Irish industry.

p. 257

[357] This refers to the movement for the abolition of the restrictions of political rights for Catholics, most of whom were Irish, that developed in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In Ireland this movement was directed by the liberal bourgeoisie, with Daniel O'Connell at its head, which by the slogan of Catholic Emancipation secured peasant support. The movement lasted until 1829 when Catholics were granted the right to hold certain government posts and to be elected to Parliament; simultaneously the property qualification increased fivefold.

p. 257

[358] Reference is to the Reform League's erroneous position in relation to the Irish national liberation movement (see Note 226).

p. 258

[359] This document is the form of application for working men's societies wishing to join the International Association (see Note 65).

p. 261

[360] Reference is to the celebration meeting, held in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1865 in honour of the first anniversary of the foundation of the International Working Men's Association.

p. 263.

[361] This apparently refers to the anniversary meeting of the June 1848 Insurrection of the Paris workers. Organised by the German Workers' Educational Association in London, this meeting was held in the Metropolitan Institution, Cleveland Street, on June 28, 1865 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 107).

p. 263

[362] What is meant here is the address to U.S. President Johnson adopted by the General Council on May 9, 1865. Drawn up by Marx, it was rewritten on parchment to be sent to the President.

p. 263

[363] The General Council used the room in 18, Greek Street for its weekly meetings between October 5, 1864 and January 2, 1866.

p. 263

[364] The National Reform Conference met in Manchester on May 15-16, 1865, the General Council members Howell, Cremer, and Odger taking part in it.

p. 263

[365] In the house at 8, Adelphi Terrace, The Strand, the London 1865 Conference of the International Association held its evening sessions on September 25-27 (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 236-45).

p. 263

[366] The Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association were approved by the Geneva Congress at its sessions of September 5 and 8, 1866. These Rules are based on the Provisional Rules drawn up by Marx in October 1864. The Administrative Regulations were worked out during the Geneva Congress by a commission of which Eccarius was a member. In this volume the Rules and Regulations are printed according to the English edition of 1867 in whose publication Marx was active (see p. 182 of the present volume). In German they were published in *Der Vorbote* No. 9, September 1866. In addition, the Administrative Regulations appeared in *The International Courier* No. 17, May 1, 1867 and in *Le Courrier International* No. 17, April 27, 1867.

p. 265

[367] This statement was written by Fox, whom the General Council instructed on January 1, 1867 to prepare for publication the material on the confiscation of the Geneva Congress (1866) documents by the French police (see pp. 43, 70, 79 and 84-85 of the present volume).

p. 271

[368] This leaflet was issued in connection with the preparations for the meeting in the Cambridge Hall, London, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1863-64 (see Note 100). The first resolution was moved by Zabicki; the second, by Marx; the third—in French—by Besson; and the fourth, by Fox.

p. 277

[369] Congress Poland—part of Poland which under the official name of Polish Kingdom was ceded to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15.

p. 279

[370] This appeal was drawn up by Eccarius on the General Council's instructions (see p. 97 of the present volume).

p. 280

[371] Reference is to the French text of the Rules and Administrative Regulations published in November 1866 in the form of a membership card *(carnet)* (see Note 50).

p. 284

[372] This address in English was drawn up by a commission appointed by the General Council on June 4. Marx, who was a member of the commission, was unable to take part in its work (see Note 154).

p. 285

[373] Reference is to the English members of the International participating in the organisation of the workers' mass reform movement (see Note 200).

p. 285

[374] This document is the French version of the General Council's appeal regarding the Lausanne Congress drawn up by Lafargue, who was entrusted with the job at the Council meeting of July 9, 1867, and edited by Marx.

p. 288

[375] This refers to the strikes of the Paris bronze-workers and tailors in February and March 1867 (see Notes 111, 123, and 128).

p. 288

[376] The Commission Appointed To Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions was set up in February 1867 because of the intensified activities of the unions. Beginning this inquiry the ruling circles secretly hoped to outlaw the trade unions or at least to restrict their activities. In answer to this, the trade unions held meetings throughout the country and convened a national conference in London on March 5-8, 1867. The royal commission, however, failed to advance any serious accusations against the trade unions.

p. 289

[377] The report is given in the present volume according to *The Bee-Hive* No. 309, September 14, 1867. The English text of the report differs from the French text published in the pamphlet *Rapports lus au congrès ouvrier réuni du 2 au 8 septembre 1867 à Lausanne. Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.* Further, the English text omitted parts of the report about the French, Swiss, Belgian and American sections of the International. Part of the report concerning America is published here as a separate document (see pp. 304-10 of the present volume) according to Fox's manuscript contained in the Minute Book. For the French, Swiss and Belgian sections see Note 379.

p. 292

[378] See Note 147.

p. 302

[379] Further, the French edition has the following reports about the French, Swiss, and Belgian sections:

FRANCE

The General Council's mission is to correspond with the individual branches in those countries where restrictive legislation prevents the safe establishment of a centre of action. Such is, for example, the situation in France.

It has been shown above that all of the General Council's attempts to get into France membership cards containing the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Association failed because the French authorities seized our property, even though nothing warranted that violation of the law. But the obstacles raised by the French authorities went further than that. Our correspondents vainly asked permission to print our Rules and Regulations—they invariably met the most stubborn refusal.

The Lyons Committee, which in 1866 succeeded in holding meetings of over 500 members, was unable to call a general meeting after the Geneva Congress.

The courageous perseverance of the Lyons members with regard to the authorities resulted in even the blindest seeing how far the French Government was willing to grant the working man freedom.

It is worth noting that these obstacles and this petty harassing did not for one moment check our Association's progress.

Vienne, Isère, which barely had 80 members, today numbers more than 500.

In Neuville-sur-Saône, one of our branches has founded a consumers' co-operative society, thereby drawing farm labourers into public activity, which they had previously been considered to frown on.

Our Caen correspondent reports that the working people's union in that town is gaining strength from day to day. This alliance has enabled the *harness-makers, mechanics, tanners, saddlers, blacksmiths* and others to secure a one-hour reduction of their working day without a wage cut.

In Fuveau, Bouches-du-Rhône, the International Association has numerous members among the miners, whose recent strike caused such a stir.

On August 5 last the General Council was informed of the establishment of a Committee in Fuveau itself. We owe this achievement to the courageous propaganda conducted by Citizen *Vasseur*, a Marseilles Committee member, who on July 21 last wrote to us:

"A struggle is on between labour and capital, one that is both sad and amusing, with a band of officials and clerks making propaganda tours to turn the workers away from the International Association, on the one hand, and a handful of energetic and devoted people fighting continuously against the attacks of our opponents and disseminating the ideas of independence and justice among the working people on the other."

In conclusion he wrote:

"No human power can uproot the ideas of emancipation that we have sown in the country, for our opponents have to combat two things which are very hard to defeat: *right and will.*"

On the whole, the working man realises that *where there's a will there's a way*, and that he has only himself to count on if he wants to win complete political and social liberty.

Here is a list of the branches in existence before the last Congress met, giving the amounts they contributed in 1866 and 1867:

	Contributions		
	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
Paris	4	—	—
Caen	1	—	—
Lyons	11	12	—
Bordeaux	3	9	—
Rouen	—	4	5
Guadeloupe	—	—	—
Vienne	5	7	6
Neuville-sur-Saône	1	5	3
Pantin	—	—	—
Saint-Denis	—	—	—
Puteaux	—	—	—
Neufchâteau	—	—	—
Lisieux	—	—	—
Condé-sur-Noireau	—	—	—
Harcourt-Thierry	—	—	—
Granville	—	—	—
Argentan	—	—	—
New Branches Set Up After the Congress			
Paris bookbinders	14	4	—
Castelnaudary	—	—	—
Auch	—	—	—
Orléans	—	—	—
Nantes	—	—	—
Villefranche	—	—	—
Marseilles	—	—	—
Fuveau	—	—	—
Havre	—	—	—
Algeria	—	—	—

SWITZERLAND

From Switzerland we have received reports from the Central Commitee only. There, as in England, the International Association's job is to enlist workers' societies and recruit as many individual members as possible. We wish to note, however, that workers' societies in Switzerland have smaller memberships than they have in England.

Here are the towns where branches have been set up:

Geneva, Carouge, Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux, Neuchâtel, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Locle, Sainte-Croix, Saint-Imier, Sonvillier, Bienne, Moutier, Boncourt, Zurich, Wetzikon, Basle, Berne, Tramelan, Les Breuleux and Les Bois.

Money Received from Those Branches in 1866 and 1867

	Contributions		
	Pounds	*Shillings*	*Pence*
Geneva (Romanish Section)	4	—	—
Geneva (German Section)	1	7	9
Chaux-de-Fonds	2	4	—
Locle	—	17	10

BELGIUM

Report from the Corresponding Secretary for Belgium to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

"Citizens,

"I have been corresponding with Belgium since the basket-makers' strike. I wrote a letter about it to Citizen *Vandenhouten* and it was published in *La Tribune du Peuple* a week later. On behalf of the General Council, I informed him that an agent of the master basket-makers had left for London to recruit Belgian basket-makers. I told him that our organisation must foil the agent's plans and that solidarity obliged the Belgian workers to decline all recruitment offers in order to ensure the victory of their English brothers.

"I then informed Citizen Vandenhouten of the return of several Belgian basket-makers who had arrived in London taking on trust the promises the employers had given but not held, and of the fraternal sentiments of the English basket-makers. I stressed in the letter the contribution which the activity of the General Council had made to the triumph of the workers over the employers.

"I corresponded with Citizen *Brismée* about printing the Geneva Congress report. The correspondence got us nowhere in the sense that I asked him, on the advice of the General Council, for a loan which he could not give. My last letter on this point was left unanswered—it must have been hard for Citizen Brismée, whose devotion is well known, to have to refuse formally. That is how I interpret his silence.

"I sent Citizen Vandenhouten a letter of the General Council concerning the Belgian cigar-makers, asking him to give the letter as much publicity as possible. I did as much with regard to the General Council resolutions on the Tsar's visit to Paris. I informed the Brussels office of the General Council resolution on the strike of the London tailors, recommending to the Belgian tailors not to come to London to work in shops on strike, and to all Belgian workers to show their solidarity by helping the London tailors with funds.

"I sent the General Council circular on the Lausanne Congress to Citizen *De Witte* at 6, St. Gilles and to Citizen Vandenhouten in Brussels, asking them to give it the greatest possible attention and publicity.

"In short, I did all that the Council had asked me to do, and I make bold to say that I have had no criticism from Belgium. I enclose with this brief report the few letters I have received. As regards correspondence expenses, I think I am perfectly able to make this little sacrifice for the Association.

"Greetings and fraternity!

"Besson."

p. 302

[380] See Notes 166 and 193.

p. 302

[381] Reference is to the International Ironmoulders' Union (see Note 166).

p. 303

[382] The French text has the following signatures after these words:

In the name of the General Council:
ODGER, President
ECCARIUS, General Secretary
W. DELL, Treasurer
SHAW, Secretary-Treasurer
Corresponding Secretaries:
E. DUPONT for France
K. MARX for Germany
ZABICKI for Poland
H. JUNG for Switzerland
P. FOX for America
BESSON for Belgium
CARTER for Italy
P. LAFARGUE for Spain
HANSEN for Denmark

p. 303

[383] Drawn up by Fox, this report has reached us in manuscript form appended to the General Council's Minute Book (see Note 204). The present volume reproduces this manuscript, the text of which, apart from a few details, coincides with the French text of the report (see Note 377).

p. 304

[384] This refers to the Lausanne Congress of the International.

p. 311

[385] The text of the General Council's memorial to Minister Gathorne-Hardy, drawn up by Marx, is extant in the Minute Book (see pp. 179-80 of the present volume) and in the form of the MS copy made by Jenny, Marx's wife, and reproduced in this volume. Written as an article, this copy was to be sent to the press but in fact was never published in English. The French translation of this article appeared in *Le Courrier Français* No. 163, November 24, 1867.

p. 312

[386] This list of questions on labour statistics was sent out to the secretaries and members of the International Association as a circular, as was decided by the Geneva Congress of 1866. It corresponds to the text of Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 342).

p. 314

[387] Approved on January 28, 1868, this circular shows that preparations for the Brussels Congress began in good time and were made in a much more organised manner than for the Lausanne Congress. The right direction given by the list of questions submitted for deliberation made for the consolidation of the proletarian revolutionary nucleus of the International and its victory at the Brussels Congress of 1868.

p. 315

[388] Because of tactical considerations this letter, meant for the bourgeois press, conceals the General Council's genuine attitude to the workers' strike movement. At the Geneva Congress of 1866 the strike issue, which was not included in the agenda as a separate item, arose during the discussion of the second point of the agenda: "International Combination of Efforts, by the Agency of the Association, in the Struggle Between Labour and Capital." The "Instructions" drawn up by Marx (see Note 5) in this connection did not speak of strikes as such but of the necessity to institute a statistical inquiry into working conditions in different countries and branches of industry. During the ensuing discussion of this issue at the Congress, the General Council's delegates encountered dogmatic condemnation of strikes and a utopian trust in the association of small producers so characteristic of the French and Swiss Proudhonists. In reply to their arguments Dupont stated: "Even condemning the strike in principle, one should recognise it as the only means of struggle at the disposal of the working class." The vague resolution adopted by the Congress did not give a clear answer to the question of the International Association's attitude to strikes, a fact of which the authors of this letter availed themselves.

A detailed resolution on the place and importance of strikes in the workers' emancipation movement was adopted by the Brussels Congress on September 8, 1868.

p. 317

[389] See Note 240.

p. 318

[390] In connection with the preparations for the Brussels Congress (September 6-13, 1868), at the General Council meeting of June 23, 1868 a proposal was moved, and seconded by Marx, to draft an address to the British trade unions. It was done by Hales, Lafargue and Copeland and, following the discussion of the draft

address at the Council meeting on June 30, it was approved by the Council on July 7, 1868 and sent to print (see Note 314) to be published in leaflet form. The 1,000 copies of the address were quickly sold out, and the General Council, at its meeting on July 21, decided to publish an additional 500 copies. It was also published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 353, July 25, 1868; in German the address was partly reproduced in *Der Vorbote* No. 8, August 1868.

p. 319

391 Reference is to the International Association's Conference held in London in 1865.

p. 322

392 This report on the activities of the International Association for the past year, drawn up by Marx for the Brussels Congress of 1868, was approved by the General Council on September 1, 1868. In this volume the report is published according to *The Times*, the text of which slightly differs from the German translation made by Marx (see also Note 346).

p. 324

393 Reference is to the *Mémoire* of the French delegates (see Note 36).

p. 325

394 See Note 240.

p. 325

395 In France, according to Article 291 of the Criminal Code and the Law of April 10, 1834, any society numbering over 20 people had to be sanctioned by the respective authorities.

p. 325

396 See Note 278.

p. 326

397 At Mentana, on November 3, 1867, the French army, jointly with the Pope's hired guards, defeated Garibaldi who had undertaken a new campaign against Rome to liberate the city from the French and annex it to the Italian state.

p. 326

398 Reference is to the Prussian anti-workers' law of March 11, 1850.

p. 327

399 Reference is to the activities of Becker and the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland. Headed by Becker, the Committee was in fact, until 1869 when the Eisenacher Party was founded, the organisational centre of the different sections existing semi-legally in Germany.

p. 327

[400] Reference is to the general meeting of the General Union of German Workers held in Hamburg on August 22-25, 1868 (see Note 340). The resolution adopted at the meeting was published in *Der Social-Demokrat* No. 102, September 2, 1868.

For the Nuremberg Congress of the League of German Workers' Union see Note 324.

p. 327

[401] See Note 342.

p. 328

NAME INDEX

A

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Alexander II (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—130.

Allan, William (1813-1874)—British worker, mechanic; trade-union leader, reformist, one of the organisers and the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers (1851-74)—first big trade union of British workers; in the 1860s one of the leaders of the London Trades Council; opposed affiliation to the International; one of the leaders of the Labour Representation League.—135, 139, 216.

Anne (1665-1714)—Queen of England (1702-14).—257.

Applegarth, Robert (1833-1925)—British worker, cabinet-maker; one of the reformist leaders of the trade-union movement, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); one of the Reform League leaders; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address "The Civil War in France"; subsequently left the working-class movement.—39, 44, 45, 92, 122.

B

Bara, Jules (1835-1900)—Belgian statesman, Liberal, Minister of Justice (1865-70, 1878-84).—213, 326.

Barbedienne, F.—Paris manufacturer of bronzeware.—105.

Beales, Edmond (1803-1881)—English jurist, bourgeois radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; member of the British Emancipation Society which during the American Civil War supported the North; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—116.

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—leading figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner by trade; from 1867 on, President of the League of German Workers' Unions; member of the First International; from 1867 on, a deputy to the

Reichstag; one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democrats; fought Lassalleanism; took a proletarian internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian War; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; active in the Second International; in the 1890s and at the turn of the century came out against reformism and revisionism, but even then and, particularly, in the last years of his activity made a number of Centrist mistakes.—230.

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, brush-maker; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; organiser of the sections of the International in Switzerland and Germany; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and to all the congresses of the International; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—43, 44, 68, 71, 72, 128, 132, 161, 164, 192, 248, 302, 311.

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)—English historian and public figure, bourgeois radical, positivist philosopher; took an active part in the democratic movement of the 1860s; presided at the inaugural meeting of the International held in St. Martin's Hall, September 28, 1864; professor at the University of London; in 1870-71 defended the International and the Paris Commune in the British press; was on friendly terms with Marx.—122, 123.

Benière, Eugène—correspondent of the International in France; took part in organising the International's sections near Lyons; Proudhonist.—93, 146.

Bernard, Marie—Belgian house-painter; member of the General Council (September 1868-69), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium.—228.

Besson, Alexandre—French worker, mechanic, an émigré in London; member of the General Council (1866-68), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, one of the leaders of the French branch in London; belonged to the group of petty-bourgeois republicans, followers of Félix Pyat.—55, 57, 115, 133, 136, 140, 161, 163, 180, 215, 219, 227, 228, 291, 313.

Bismarck, Otto, von Schönhausen, Prince (1815-1898)—statesman and diplomat, Prussian Junker; Ambassador at St. Petersburg (1859-62) and at Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71), Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means; bitter enemy of the working-class movement; author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—111, 113, 114, 121, 166, 167, 321.

Bobczynski, Konstantin—took part in the Polish insurrection of 1863, afterwards

emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (from May 1866 on); participant in the London Conference of 1865; in 1866 moved to Birmingham.—57, 78, 109, 118.

Bockett—British bookbinder, Secretary of the London Bookbinders' Society.—93, 102.

Bonaparte. See *Napoleon III.*

Bourdon, Antoine-Marie—French worker, engraver; active participant in the French working-class movement; delegate to and secretary of the Geneva Congress (1866), member of the Paris Committee of the International.—197.

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891)—British journalist, bourgeois radical, editor of the weekly *National Reformer;* after the Paris Commune sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men's Association.—116.

Bradnick, Frederick—delegate to the General Council from the Association of Elastic Web-Weavers (1867); member of the General Council of the International (1870-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1871; following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; expelled from the International on May 30, 1873 by a decision of the General Council.—169.

Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig (pseudonym *L. Otto)* (1836-1890)—German journalist; member of the General Council of the International (1864), Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866).—37.

Brighting, Samuel—British worker, basket-maker; trade-unionist; member of the Old London Society of Basket-Makers.—55, 60.

Brismée, Désiré (1823-1888)—Belgian worker, printer; took part in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; Proudhonist; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal (General) Council from 1869 on; delegate to the Brussels (1868), Vice-President of the Basle (1869), and delegate to the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; joined the Bakuninists; subsequently disassociated himself from the anarchists.—62.

Brown, John (1800-1859)—American farmer, militant abolitionist; took an active part in the armed struggle against the slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); in 1859 attempted to organise a revolt of the Negro slaves in Virginia; was tried and executed.—253.

Büchner, Ludwig (1824-1899)—German philosopher, vulgar materialist; took part in the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867).—311.

Buckley, James—British trade-unionist, member of the

General Council of the International (November 1864-69) and of the Reform League.—47, 50, 98, 109, 112, 114, 123, 124, 126, 128, 130, 134, 136, 141, 145, 147, 157, 160, 162, 167, 168, 170, 172, 174, 183, 186, 193, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202-04, 206, 208, 209, 211, 213, 215, 219, 221, 223-25, 227, 229, 234, 240, 245, 247-50, 264.

Bürkli, Karl (1823-1901)—active in the Swiss working-class movement; follower of Fourier and Considerant; subsequently became a Social-Democrat; one of the leaders of the International's sections in Zurich.—311.

Burns—supporter of the International in Halifax (England).—200.

Butler—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the Coventry Ribbon-Weavers' Association (1867) which affiliated to the International.—99.

C

Cameron, Andrew—one of the leaders of the National Labour Union, U.S.A.; delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); editor of *The Workingman's Advocate*.—310.

Canessa, L. D.—active participant in the Italian national liberation movement; one of the leaders of the Federation of Workers' Co-operative Societies of Genoa; after the death of Savi was editor (1865-May 1866) of *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane*, central organ of the Italian workers.—72.

Card, Frederick—member of the General Council (1867).—118, 124, 126, 128, 130.

Card, Joseph (Czwierzakiewicz)—active member of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva, delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866).—95, 120.

Carter, James—British worker, perfumer; member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-67) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866-67); participant in the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—30-41, 43, 47-53, 56, 58, 59, 61, 69, 71, 83, 91, 92, 98-100, 105, 107, 112-15, 123, 126-28, 135, 136, 144, 145, 147, 150, 153, 157, 160, 161, 163, 166, 167, 284, 291.

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801); was responsible for the savage suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1798; Secretary for War and the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), Foreign Minister (1812-22).—258.

Charbonneau, Pierre—French worker, cabinet-maker; active member of the International, member of the Paris Committee (1868).—197.

Chassin—active member of the International in France, leader of the Villefranche section (1867); delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867).—140.

Chemalé, Félix Eugène (born c. 1839)—architect; delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866).—75, 120, 125, 126, 187, 196, 206, 207, 214.

Cheval—Frenchman, member of the International in Belgium (1865-68).—80.

Christies—London hat manufacturer.—75.

Cohn, James—British working-class leader, President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—84, 97, 98, 105, 108-10, 118, 126, 127, 133, 141, 146, 147, 149, 160-62, 181, 182, 210, 213-15, 221, 222, 225-27, 229, 230, 248-50.

Collet, Joseph—French journalist, republican, an émigré in London; member of the National Reform League; editor of *The International Courier*; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—42, 52, 61, 64, 83, 91, 94, 95, 97-99, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 115, 116-18, 129, 131, 135, 283, 284, 294, 306, 308.

Combault, Amédée Benjamin (born c. 1838—died after 1884)—French worker, jeweller; active in the French working-class movement; during his first period of emigration in London became a member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); later on took an active part in the International's work in Paris; in 1870 founded one of the Paris sections of the International and entered the Paris Federal Council; was involved in the third legal action against the International Working Men's Association in France; member of the Paris Commune; Chief of the Board of Direct Taxes; afterwards again emigrated to London.—83, 197.

Cook, Thomas (1808-1892)—English tourist agent.—61.

Cope, James—British trade-unionist, member of the Committee of the London Boot-Closers' Society, the London Trades Council, the General Council of the International (1865-67); participant in the London Conference (1865).—100.

Copeland—leading figure in the atheistic movement in Britain; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69).—218, 219, 221-24, 225-30, 234, 240, 244, 250.

Cottam, Richard—English engraver, owner of the printing house which printed the International's membership cards up to 1870; member of

the International.—96, 159, 264, 283, 284.

Coullery, Pierre (1819-1903)—Swiss physician, democrat, Proudhonist; took part in founding the International's branch in La Chaux-de-Fonds; editor of the newspaper *La Voix de l'Avenir*; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; subsequently drew away from political activities.—31, 34, 42, 197.

Coulson, Edwin—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the London branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society; member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865-66); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League. —123.

Cowley, Henry Richard Charles Wellesley, Baron (1804-1884)—British diplomat, Ambassador at Paris (1852-67).—70, 88, 274, 293.

Creed, Eric—British traveller in Belgium; in collaboration with Walter Williams wrote a series of articles on the Belgian iron industry, published in *The Times* in December 1866 and January 1867.—280.

Cremer, William Randal (1828-1908)—active participant in the British trade-union and bourgeois-pacifist movement, reformist; one of the founders of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council and the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics; during the Reform Movement allied himself with the bourgeoisie; subsequently Liberal M.P.—30, 31, 33-39, 43, 46-48, 51-53, 59-62, 65, 73, 81, 84, 116, 117, 262, 264.

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the English bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century; from 1649 on, Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Army and Lord-Governor of Ireland; from 1653 on, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland.—257.

D

Danter, R.—active participant in the British trade-union movement of the 1860s and 1870s; President of the Society of Amalgamated Engineers; member of the London Trades Council. —90.

Dassy, Giuseppe—Italian working-class leader; Vice-President of the Italian Working

Men's Union; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International from the workers' mutual aid society in Cerignola; the General Council's correspondent in Naples.—43, 45, 83, 134, 246.

Dell, William—interior decorator; active in the British working-class and democratic movement; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); participated in the London Conference of 1865; one of the leaders of the Reform League.—33, 37-39, 46, 47, 51, 55, 56, 112-15, 118, 121, 123, 124-30, 163, 283, 284, 291.

De Paepe, César (1842-1890)—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class and socialist movement; compositor, subsequently—physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International; member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress of 1872 supported the Bakuninists for some time; one of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—212, 220.

Derkinderen—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1867).—60, 63-66, 70, 313.

Dodd, Henry—member of the International (1867).—123.

Dodson—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the London Society of the Amalgamated Cordwainers which affiliated to the International (1867).—141.

Druitt, George—British trade-unionist, President of the London Tailors' Society; member of the General Council of the International (1867).—108, 110.

Drury—member of the French branch of the International in London; left for New York in 1867.—165, 168.

Dry, David—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the London Elastic Web-Weavers' Society.—57, 61, 62.

Dufferin, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, Marquess (1826-1902)—British statesman and diplomat; Liberal, member of Gladstone's Cabinet (1868-72); big landowner in Ireland.—255.

Dumesnil-Marigny, Jules (1810-1885)—French bourgeois economist and publicist; member of the International (1865); participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International.—263.

Dupleix, François—Swiss worker, bookbinder; one of the

organisers and Chairman of the French section of the International in Geneva; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—43, 67, 68, 71, 100, 120, 284.

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1831-1881) prominent figure in the international working-class movement, French worker, musical-instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; Chairman of the Lausanne Congress (1867) and delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; upheld Marx's policy in the International; in 1870 moved to Manchester where he formed a branch of the International; in 1872 became a member of the British Federal Council of the International; in 1874 moved to the U.S.A.—30, 37, 41, 42, 45, 47-49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 65, 66, 69, 71, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 89, 92-95, 97-101, 107-13, 118, 120-30, 132, 133, 135, 136, 140, 141, 145-47, 154, 161, 163, 165, 172, 174, 175, 180, 182, 184-87, 190-93, 196, 197, 201-03, 205, 206, 208-15, 218-21, 223, 225, 227-31, 234, 240, 245, 247-50, 262, 275, 284, 287, 291, 311, 313.

Dutton, James Frank—British worker, coach-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1866).—29, 47, 50.

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George) (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, working-class publicist, tailor; an émigré in London; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; one of the founders of the German Workers' Educational Association in London; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—30-34, 36, 38, 43, 47-49, 54, 58, 62, 65, 66, 70, 71, 74, 79, 82, 84, 92, 96-99, 103, 105, 106, 112-15, 118, 121, 123, 124, 126-28, 130-34, 136, 138, 139, 141, 144, 145, 147, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 158-70, 172-74, 180-84, 186, 189, 190, 192, 193, 195-97, 199-204, 206-12, 213, 215-19, 221-31, 234, 235, 238-45, 247-50,

270, 282, 284, 287, 291, 311, 313, 316, 318, 322, 327.

Edgar—British trade-unionist, member of the London Trades Council.—126.

Elizabeth (1533-1603)—Queen of England (1558-1603).—257.

F

Ferdinand II (1810-1859)—King of Naples (1830-1859), nicknamed King Bomba for his bombardment of Messina in 1848.—176.

Floquet, Charles (1828-1896)—French lawyer, Left Republican; during the Second Empire acted as counsel for the defence of the Paris section at the trials in 1868 and 1870; deputy and Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies in the 1870s and 1880s.—130.

Fontaine, Léon—Belgian journalist, active participant in the democratic movement in Belgium; in 1862-65 publisher of the French edition of Herzen's *Kolokol* (*The Bell*); General Council's Corresponding Secretary *pro tem.* for Belgium (1865); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—41.

Fox, Peter (Peter Fox André) (d. 1869)—journalist, active in the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; one of the leaders of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); from 1865 on, the General Council's official press correspondent; General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866); Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); one of the editors of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—29, 33, 35-41, 44-47, 49, 50, 54-63, 65-71, 74, 79-82, 90, 92-96, 98, 100-14, 116, 118, 121-23, 126, 128-34, 136, 140, 141, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 153, 154, 156-64, 166, 167, 169-73, 181, 183, 184, 230, 276, 287, 291, 310, 327.

Fribourg, E. E.—active figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; one of the leaders of the International's Paris section; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 published his book *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—35, 36, 45, 49, 56, 75, 93, 99, 100, 108, 148.

G

Gardner, William—Englishman, member of the General Council of the International (1865-67, 1869).—47, 147.

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, leader of the Italian national liberation movement; in 1848 led a volunteer corps, fought on the side of the Piedmont army in the war against Austria; organised the defence of the Roman Republic in April-June 1849; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of Italy.—43, 45, 173, 175, 277.

Gathorne-Hardy, Gathorne (1814-1906)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Minister (1867-68).—179, 312.

Gibson, William—secretary for international relations of the National Labour Union, U.S.A.—304-08, 310.

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; in the latter half of the nineteenth century one of the leaders of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).—253.

Gottraux, Jules—Swiss, who became a British subject; member of the International.—43, 69, 70, 79, 87-89, 273-75, 293.

Graham, John—member of the International in England.—129.

Granjon, Leopold Auguste—brush-maker, member of the Paris Committee of the International (1868).—197.

Greeley, Horace (1811-1872)—American bourgeois journalist and politician; founder and one of the editors of the progressive newspaper *New York Daily Tribune*; supporter of the International.—72.

Greening, Edward Owen (1836-1923)—active figure in the co-operative movement in Manchester; member of the British Emancipation Society which supported the North during the American Civil War; member of the Reform League.—201, 202, 208.

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; one of the organisers of the Alliance of Social-Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Progrès, Solidarité* and *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*; at the Hague Congress was expelled from the International for his splitting activities; during the First World War adopted a social-chauvinist stand.—170, 191, 207, 212, 311.

Gzechowski—Pole, owner of the Hotel de Pologne in London (1866).—71.

H

Hakowski, F.—Polish émigré in London, secretary of a Polish workers' society in London (1866).—66.

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British worker, weaver; trade-union leader; member of the Gen-

eral Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); member of the Reform League and the Land and Labour League; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the beginning of 1872 headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; waged a struggle against Marx, seeking to gain leadership of the International in Britain; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—46, 47, 56, 58, 59, 61, 65, 100, 104, 108-10, 114, 123-26, 128, 147, 149-51, 156, 157, 160-64, 167, 168-70, 192, 200, 204, 213, 215, 217-24, 227, 229, 234, 237, 247, 311.

Hales, William—member of the General Council of the International (1867, 1869-72).—109, 110, 124, 126.

Hammond—official in the British Foreign Office.—88, 274.

Hansen, N. P.—Dane, member of the General Council of the International (December 1864-67), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1866), and for Denmark and Holland (1867).—29, 30, 37, 47, 291.

Harris, George—active figure in the British working-class movement, follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist Bronterre O'Brien; active member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—21.

Harrison, Frederick (1831-1923)—English jurist and historian, bourgeois radical, Positivist; active participant in the democratic movement of the 1860s; member of the International.—122-24.

Harrison, William—Secretary of the London Hatters' Society.—75.

Hart, Joseph—supporter of the International in London.—182, 184.

Hillam—member of the International in Lynn (England).—165.

Hinton—member of the International; in October 1867 was authorised by the General Council to act in the U.S.A. on behalf of the International Working Men's Association.—162, 164.

Hohenzollern. See *Wilhelm I.*

Holmes, John—founded a section of the International in Leeds (1868); active participant in the co-operative movement.—235, 240.

Holtorp, Emile—Polish émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1864-65); delegate to the London Conference (1865) of the International; in 1866 joined the International Republican Committee set up by Mazzini.—262.

Hosburgh.—67, 83, 93.

Howell, George (1833-1910)—British worker, mason; former Chartist; one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-69); participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International; Secretary of the Reform League and of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1871-75).—147, 150, 163, 168, 172.

Hravbe (or *Rhabje*)—Hungarian émigré in London; President of the London German Workers' Educational Association (1866); member of the General Council of the International (1865-66); in September 1866 was empowered to act in Hungary on behalf of the International Working Men's Association; active in the Hungarian working-class movement until 1869.—29.

Huleck—member of the General Council of the International (1868); member of the French branch in London; following a split in the branch (1868) came out against the General Council.—184, 186, 190, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 206, 209, 211, 213, 215, 219, 221, 224, 227, 229, 231.

Huleck, Mrs.—member of the General Council of the International (1868).—174, 184, 186, 190, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213, 215, 219, 221, 224, 225, 227, 229.

Humbert, Jean Baptiste—active member of the International in France, member of the Paris Committee of the International (1868).—197.

Huntington—manufacturer of wallpaper in Holloway (Ireland).—82, 91, 94, 95.

I

Isard—member of the French branch of the International in London; emigrated to New York (1867).—147, 165, 168.

J

Jackson—one of the leaders of the Shoemakers' Society in Kendal (England) which affiliated to the International (1867).—99.

Jayet, Joseph—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—178, 229.

Jessup, William J.—American worker, carpenter; Vice-President (from 1866) and Corresponding Secretary (from 1867) of the National Labour Union for the State of New York; one of the leaders of the Workers' Union of New York; favoured affiliation to the International.—134, 154, 155, 165, 169, 174, 194, 245, 307, 308, 310.

Johannard, Jules (1843-1888)—one of the leaders of the French working-class movement, lithographer; member of the General Council of the

International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International in St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune; sided with the Blanquists; following the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—212, 215, 219-21, 223, 225-27, 229, 230, 234, 240, 245, 247-49.

Johnson, Andrew (1808-1875)—American statesman, Democrat; Governor of Tennessee (1853-57 and 1862-65), Senator (1858-62); supporter of the North in the American Civil War; Vice-President (1864) and President of the United States (1865-69); pursued a policy of agreement with the Southern planters.—263.

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watchmaker, an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864-72); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); Vice-Chairman of the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; prior to the Hague Congress of 1872 pursued Marx's line in the International; later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—30, 34, 35, 37-43, 45-49, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59-62, 64, 65, 67-74, 76, 77, 81-83, 90-95, 99, 100, 102-15, 118-36, 141, 145, 147, 149-51, 153, 154, 158-64, 166-75, 180-87, 190-97, 199-219, 221-30, 234, 240, 245, 247-50, 262-64, 284, 287, 291, 313, 323.

K

Kane, John (1819-1876)—active in the British working-class movement, Chartist; Secretary of the National Association of Malleable Iron-Workers (1868-76).—115, 125, 139, 145.

Kaub, Karl—German worker, an émigré in London, after 1865—in Paris; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65 and 1870-71); participant in the London Conference of 1865.—263, 264, 283.

Keller—member of the General Council of the International from the French branch in London (1867).—129, 130, 133, 141, 145, 147, 153.

Kelly—owner of a printshop in London; member of the International.—264.

Krynski, Jan (John) (1811-1890)—Polish revolutionary, an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-67); Secretary of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—103.

L

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement, outstanding propagator of Marxism; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); one of the founders of the Workers' Party in France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels. —29, 39, 41, 43, 47, 83, 95, 98-100, 110-14, 136, 161, 163, 164, 165-67, 174, 180, 219, 220, 222, 223, 229, 230, 291, 313.

Lama, Domenico—President of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65).—73.

Landrin, Emile—French worker, engraver; active member of the International, member of the Paris Committee of the International (1868).—197.

Langley, J. Baxter—English bourgeois radical, publicist. —199.

Lassassie, F.—French hairdresser, an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International (1865-68); participant in the London Conference of 1865; member of the French branch in London where he advocated the General Council's policy.—40, 41, 163.

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)—leading figure in the atheistic movement in England; member of the General Council (June 1867-72) and of the Manchester section of the International (1872).—110, 129, 131, 133, 141, 145, 150, 153, 157, 162, 163, 170, 172, 182, 183, 217, 218, 221-25, 227, 229, 234, 239, 245, 247-49.

Lawrence, Matthew—British trade-unionist, President of the Operative Tailors' Protective Association in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International.—29-32, 34-37, 40, 44, 76, 108, 163, 183, 184, 192-95, 198, 199.

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French publicist and politician; one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of the newspaper *Réforme;* member of the Provisional Government (1848); Deputy of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies where he headed the Montagne; following the demonstration of June 13, 1849 emigrated to England.—228.

Lee, James—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the United Excavators' Society which affiliated to the International; member of the Gen-

eral Council (1866-67).—29, 50, 53, 70, 75, 84.

Lefebvre (Lefèbre), Emile—correspondent of the International in Neufchâteau (France). —80.

Lefeuvre, Louis—member of the International, nominated to the General Council in January 1868.—187.

Le Lubez, Victor (born c. 1834) —French émigré in London; was connected with bourgeois-republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65); participant in the London Conference of 1865; expelled from the General Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—35, 36, 41, 48, 51, 54, 59, 60, 62, 100, 263, 264, 284.

Leno, John Bredford (b. 1826) —British worker, printer; Chartist, later trade-unionist; member of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes and of the Reform League; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), participant in the London Conference (1865); publisher of *The Workman's Advocate* (1865-66).—48, 96, 107, 264, 283, 284.

Leslie, Thomas Edward Cliffe (c. 1827-1882)—English bourgeois economist.—255.

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910) —prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; from 1856 on, an émigré in London; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association and the General Council of the International (November 1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; actively fought for Marx's line in the International; one of the founders of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels. —34, 38, 39, 47, 53, 59-61, 65, 68, 82, 83, 91, 93, 95, 97-104, 110, 112-14, 118, 120, 123, 124, 126, 128-31, 133, 134, 136, 141, 144, 145, 147, 160, 162-64, 167-70, 172, 174, 175, 180, 182-84, 186, 187, 190, 192, 195-97, 199-213, 215-16, 218-21, 223, 224-27, 229, 234, 240, 245, 247-50, 284.

Levi, Leone (1821-1888)—British bourgeois economist and lawyer.—199.

Lewis, Leon—American journalist; in 1865, in London, was elected a member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for America.—262.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; member of the Communist League; member of the International; active fighter against Lassalleanism and for the principles of the International in the German working-class movement; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; from 1867 on, deputy of the Reichstag; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76); adopted a conciliatory stand on a number of questions; during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the Paris Commune came out against the predatory plans of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—166, 167, 230.

Limburg, W.—German worker, shoemaker; member of the German Workers' Educational Association in London and of the General Council of the International (1868-69).—218, 221, 223, 225, 234, 245, 249.

Longuet, Charles (1839-1903)—French journalist; one of the leaders of the French working-class movement, Proudhonist; member of the French branch in London where he fought for the General Council's line; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses, the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; member of the Paris Commune; after the defeat of the Paris Commune emigrated to England; subsequently joined the opportunist wing in the socialist movement in France.—40, 41, 146.

Lord.—241.

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—British worker, furniture-maker; one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address "The Civil War in France" and left the International.—53, 163, 177, 178, 202, 207, 215, 217, 224, 225, 227, 234, 239, 245, 247-49.

Luscombe.—84.

M

Mac Ral.—206.

Maguire, Thomas—Irish sailor; arrested in 1867 on a charge of trying to arrange the escape of the imprisoned Fenians; was sentenced to be hanged but was soon released.—179, 312.

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French petty-bourgeois socialist; member of the International; delegate to the Geneva Congress of 1866; Deputy to the National Assembly (1871); resigned his commission; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; following the defeat of the Commune emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland; subsequently, one of the leaders and ideologists of Possibilism, an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement.—197.

Marcheval—French weaver; the International's Corresponding Secretary for the Vienne (France) section founded in 1866.—133, 148.

Marchet, André—correspondent of the International in Bordeaux (1866); in 1871 edited the newspaper *Courrier de la Sarthe* in Le Mans.—42.

Marigny. See *Dumesnil-Marigny.*

Marx, Karl (1818-1883).—29, 33, 35-37, 44-47, 51, 64-69, 71, 77, 98-100, 103, 111, 120, 128, 134-36, 141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 150-52, 156, 157, 160-64, 166-68, 170, 172, 178, 180-83, 209, 210, 212, 213, 219-31, 234, 236-50, 253, 262, 263, 291, 308, 313.

Massman, W.—member of the General Council of the International (1866), re-elected to the Council (1866-67) by the Geneva Congress; in the autumn of 1866 left for Germany where he was instructed to carry on activities in the interests of the International Working Men's Association.—47, 61.

Maurice, Zévy—tailor; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—47, 100, 101, 104, 109, 110, 112-14, 118, 125, 126, 128, 130, 131, 133, 136, 141, 145, 147, 150, 156, 162-64, 167, 168, 170, 172, 174, 180, 182-84, 186, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202-04, 206, 207, 209-11, 213, 215, 219-22, 224, 311.

Maximilian of Habsburg (1832-1867)—Archduke of Austria, Governor-General of Austrian domains in Italy (1857-59); in 1864 was proclaimed Emperor of Mexico by the French interventionists; in 1867 was executed by the Mexican republicans.—139.

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat, one of the leaders of the Italian national liberation movement, headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); one of the organisers of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence.—73.

Meyerson, E.—member of the General Council of the International (1868).—186, 225, 229.

Miall, Arthur—landlord of the house on 18, Bouverie Street,

Soho, London, where the General Council held its meetings between January 9, 1866 and June 25, 1867.—30, 38, 47, 50, 55, 70, 92, 96, 127, 131, 134, 163, 165, 167, 168.

Milner, George—Irishman; active participant in the British working-class movement, follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist O'Brien; member of the National Reform League and of the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1871; member of the British Federal Council (autumn of 1872-73); opposed the reformist wing in the Council.—195-97, 199, 202-04, 206, 207, 215, 218, 225, 227, 229, 234, 236, 242, 243, 245, 247-50.

Möller—member of the London Coach-Trimmers' Society which joined the International in 1867.—94, 114.

Mollard—member of the International (1866).—37.

Mollin, Gabriel—French worker, gilder; active member of the International; member of the Paris Committee of the International (1868).—197.

Moore, Samuel (c. 1830-1912)—English lawyer, member of the International; translated into English Vol. I of Karl Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—34.

Morell, R. M.—honorary secretary of the Sunday League, a philanthropic educational organisation.—205, 210-12.

Morgan, William—British worker, shoemaker; active in the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-68) and of the Reform League.—126, 163, 174, 177, 186, 190, 193, 195, 196, 215, 224.

Morgan, Mrs.—member of the General Council of the International (from February 1868 on).—193, 195-97, 199, 200, 202, 211, 215, 225, 229, 231.

N

Napoleon III (Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—68, 69, 253.

Neal—President of the City branch of the London Tailors' Association; member of the General Council (1867-68).—144, 146, 199.

Neemeier—member of the International (1867-68); belonged to the French branch in London.—95, 186, 190, 196.

Neil. See *O'Neil.*

Newburry—member of the International in England; in October 1867 was nominated to the General Council.—164.

O

Oborski, Louis (1787-1873)—Polish colonel; took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; later emigrated to

England; a leading member of the Society of Fraternal Democrats; commander of a division in Baden revolutionary army (1849); member of the General Council of the International (1865-67); President of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—103.

O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and bourgeois politician; leader of the Right, liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—181, 257.

Odger, George (1820-1877)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; shoemaker; took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary in 1862-72; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League, and the Labour Representation League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; during the electoral reform movement in England came to an agreement with the bourgeoisie; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address "The Civil War in France" and left the Council.—29-31, 33, 36, 51, 58, 59, 60, 62, 69, 81, 84, 90, 98, 105, 111, 113, 114, 118, 121, 123, 125, 128, 129, 132, 135, 138, 150, 157, 160, 161, 163, 206, 213-17, 261, 282, 287, 291.

O'Neil—English clergyman from Birmingham, pacifist.—163.

Orsini, Cesare—Italian political emigrant; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); propagated the ideas of the International in the U.S.A.—72-74, 305.

Overton, Richard—representative of the United Excavators' Society in the General Council of the International (1866).—50.

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—famous British Utopian Socialist.—232.

P

Packer, Frederick George—London basket manufacturer.—55.

Palix, Louis—French worker, tailor; active participant in the French working-class movement; one of the International's leaders in Lyons.—171.

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory at the beginning of his career; from 1830 on, one of the Whig leaders relying on the Right-wing elements of that party; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55), and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—258.

Parks, William.—178.

Patterson, of Guildford (London).—57.

Peel, Robert (1788-1850)—English statesman, leader of the moderate Tories, called Peelites after him, Home Secretary (1822-27 and 1828-30), Prime Minister (1834-35 and 1841-46); with the support of the Liberals effected the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846).—231.

Phillips, Wendell (1811-1884)—prominent American public figure, politician, and orator; militant abolitionist; supported revolutionary methods of struggle against the Southern slave-owners; in the seventies, joined the working-class movement; advocated the formation of an independent workers' party in the U.S.A.; in 1871 became a member of the International.—72, 305.

Pitman, Henry (1826-1909)—active participant in the co-operative movement; published popular educational literature in Manchester.—49.

Potter, George (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter; one of the reformist leaders of the trade-union movement; member of the London Trades Council and one of the leaders of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* where he pursued a policy of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie.—163, 170, 173.

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French publicist, dramatist and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the Revolution of 1848; from 1849, an émigré in Switzerland, Belgium and England; was against an independent working-class movement; for a number of years carried on a slanderous campaign against Marx and the International, using for the purpose the French branch in London; member of the Paris Commune.—224.

R

Reaveley, Edward—British trade-unionist, member of the London Coach-Makers' Friendly Society in London; represented this society in the General Council of the International (1867).—83, 90, 94.

Reddlington, Cornelius—member of the International in London (1867).—94-95.

Reincke, Peter Adolf (1818-1887)—German bourgeois democrat, sanitary inspector in Berlin.—221, 222.

Richard, Henry (1812-1888)—English pastor, bourgeois pacifist; Secretary of the Peace Society (from 1848 on); M. P. (1868-88), Liberal.—127.

Robert, of Lea, Kent County (England).—92.

Robespierre, Maximilien (1758-1794)—one of the great figures in the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century, Jacobin leader, head of the

revolutionary government (1793-94).—178.

Rothschild.—191.

Rouher, Eugène (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist, State Minister (1863-69).—325.

S

Schettel, Adrien—French worker, mechanic, Left republican; took part in the 1848 Revolution; one of the organisers of the Lyons section of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; was sentenced to imprisonment for taking part in the revolutionary events in Lyons in September 1870.—140, 171.

Schulze-Delitzsch, Hermann (1808-1883)—German politician and vulgar economist; advocated the unification of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia; one of the founders of the National Union party; in the 1860s one of the Progressist leaders; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—166.

Shaw, Robert (d. 1869)—one of the leaders of the British working-class movement; house painter; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), in which he took an active part, propagating the International's ideas in local trade-union organisations; Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69); delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—40, 48, 50, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 65, 70, 73, 74, 76, 81, 82, 91, 95, 100, 110, 112, 114, 118, 119, 121, 123, 124, 126, 128-30, 133, 147, 150, 156, 157, 159-68, 170, 172, 173, 174, 180, 182-87, 189, 190, 192-97, 199, 200, 202-04, 211, 213, 215, 221, 225, 227, 240, 244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 270, 282, 291, 312, 316, 318, 323.

Shettleworth—member of the London Wood-Cutters' Society; supporter of the International (1867).—94.

Shorrocks, Peter—one of the leaders of the Manchester Tailors' Society.—194.

Simonard—member of the French branch of the International in London (1867).—95.

Smith, Lewis—member of the International in England (1867).—94.

Sorge, Friedrich Adolf (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American labour and socialist movement; took part in the 1848 Revolution; active in the International, organiser of American sections; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); active propagator

of Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—308, 310.

Stainsby, William D.—British trade-unionist, tailor; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-68); member of the executive committees of the Reform League and of the Labour Representation League.—163.

Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby from 1869 on (1826-1893)—English statesman, Tory; became a Liberal in 1879; Secretary of State for Colonies (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary of State for India (1858-59), Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1866-68, 1874-78).—69, 70, 79, 83, 85, 88, 89, 274, 275, 293, 324.

Stepney, Cowell William Frederick (1820-1872)—English socialist, member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1867-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—92, 95, 136, 167, 168, 170, 172, 219, 221, 223-25, 227, 229, 235, 236, 240, 248.

Stephens, James (1825-1901)—Irish petty-bourgeois revolutionary, leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood (Fenian organisation); in 1866 emigrated to America.—50, 72, 305.

Stewart—master tailor in England.—45.

Stewart, G. B.—member of the International in Dumfries (England) (1867).—122.

Suire—member of the International, one of the leaders of the Nantes (France) section (1867).—148.

Sumner, Charles (1811-1874)—American politician, one of the leaders of the Republican Party's Left wing; Senator (from 1851 on), Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs (1861-71); favoured revolutionary methods of struggle against the slave-owning South; following the victory of the North in the Civil War spoke in support of political rights for the Negroes; supporter of the International.—72.

Sutcliffe, John—active in the London Block-Printers' Society; supporter of the International (1867).—112, 115, 122.

Swann, Daniel—English ribbon-weaver; member of the International; delegate from Coventry (England) to the Lausanne Congress (1867) of the International.—158.

Sylvis, William (1828-1869)—American worker, iron-moulder; prominent figure in the American labour movement; one of the founders of the International Iron-moulders' Union (1859) and its President (1863-69); took part in the American Civil

War (1861-65) on the side of the North; one of the founders of the National Labour Union of the U.S.A. (1866) and its President (1868-69); favoured affiliation to the International.—128, 134, 304, 305, 307, 310.

T

Talbot, Edouard—French physician, Mason; in 1848 founded a benefit co-operative society in Caen, closed down by Napoleon III's Government in 1852; in 1865 organised a section of the International in Caen; correspondent of the International in that town; in February 1871 editor of *Franc-Parleur*, published in Caen; was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for his articles.—146.

Tatschky—one of the leaders of the German Workers' Educational Association in London; member of the International.—158.

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—French worker, engraver, Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; one of the leaders of the Paris section; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; after September 4, 1870—deputy of the National Assembly; during the Paris Commune went over to the side of the Versaillists; in 1871 was expelled from the International.—35, 36, 100, 146, 187.

Townshend, T.—representative of the London Portmanteau- and Trunk-Makers' Society in the General Council (1868).—247.

Toutain, Léon—member of the International, one of the International's leaders in the Calvados Department (France).—148.

V

Vandenhouten, Alphonse—Belgian worker, painter; active participant in the Belgian working-class movement; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International.—40.

Van Rijen, Jacques—member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1866).—48, 55, 77, 83, 94, 99.

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; member of the Paris Commune; shot by the Versaillists on May 28, 1871.—75, 93, 197, 203.

Vasseur, Jean (c. 1838-1868)—French tin worker; organised sections of the International in Marseilles and Fuveau; the General Council's correspondent in Marseilles; delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) of the International.—123, 146, 171, 230, 311.

Vésinier, Pierre (1826-1902)—French petty-bourgeois publicist, émigré; one of the organisers of the French branch in London; participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International; conducted a slanderous campaign against the General Council and was expelled from the International by decision of the Brussels Congress of 1868; member of the Paris Commune; after the defeat of the Commune published the newspaper *Fédération* in London; opposed Marx and the General Council.—44, 81, 97, 115, 218, 223.

W

Wade, Benjamin Franklin (1800-1878)—American statesman, member of the Left wing of the Republican Party, President of the Senate (1867-69).—142, 289.

Walton, Alfred A. (b. 1816)—English socialist; architect; President of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1867-70); delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—122, 124, 145, 154, 158, 163, 200.

Warings—English employers.—53, 54, 75, 76.

Weston, John—British worker, carpenter, subsequently manufacturer; Owenist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; active member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1865; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; one of the leaders of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council.—34, 36, 39, 46-48, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 163, 169, 174, 177, 179-81, 227, 229, 233, 234, 236, 238, 239, 244, 245, 247-50, 312.

Wheeler, George William—active in the British working-class movement; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67); delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—261.

Whitehead—representative of the London Polishers' Society in the General Council of the International (September 1866-March 1867).—29, 34, 39, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56, 65, 101.

Wholly, J. C.—active participant in the American labour movement, President of the

National Labour Union in Washington.—169, 172.

Wilhelm I (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-88) and German Emperor (1871-88). —68.

Williams, Charles Owen—British worker, plasterer; trade-unionist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-69).—50, 145, 163.

Williams, Walter—British traveller in Belgium; in collaboration with Eric Creed wrote a series of articles on the Belgian iron industry which were published in *The Times*, December 1866-January 1867. —280.

Williamsen—member of the General Council of the International (1868).—193.

Wolff, Luigi (Louis)—Italian major, follower of Mazzini, member of the Association of Mutual Progress (organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of the International, held on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); participant in the London Conference of 1865; in 1871 was exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police.—73.

Woodhatch—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the Liverpool Cigar-Makers' Society (1867).—115.

Y

Yarrow, F. J.—British worker, cabinet-maker, trade-unionist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68, 1872).—97, 98, 107, 118, 121, 124, 136, 141, 150, 163, 181.

Z

Zabicki, Anton (c. 1810-1871)—one of the leaders of the Polish national liberation movement, compositor; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49; from 1851 on, an émigré in England; one of the leaders of the Democratic Association in London; from 1863 on, published *Glos Wolny;* Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—57, 68, 98, 99, 102, 109, 112, 126, 136, 141, 147, 160-64, 166-68, 170, 180, 184, 291, 313.

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